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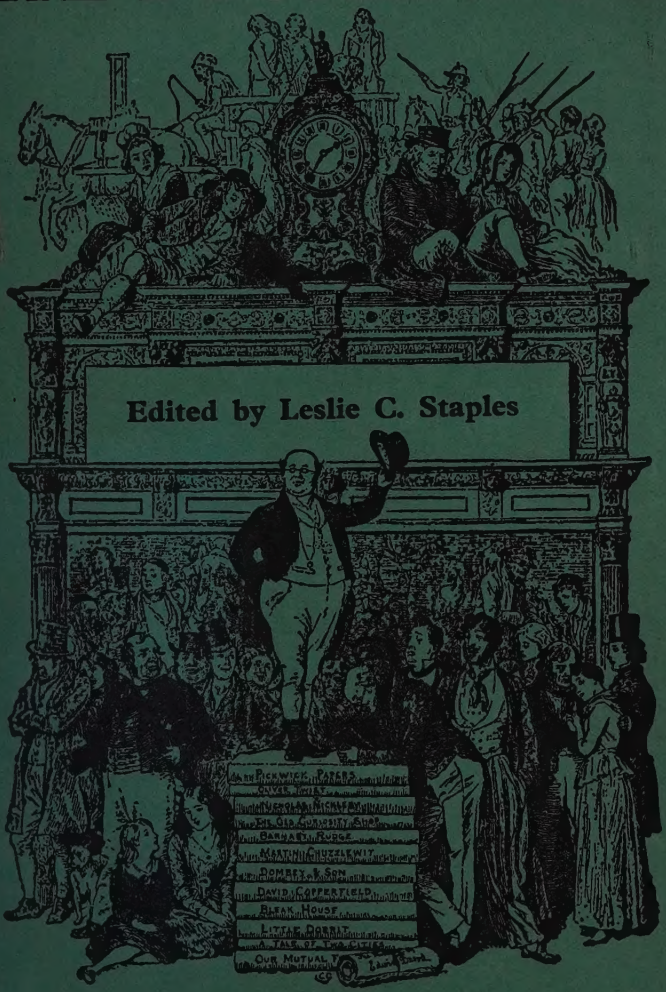

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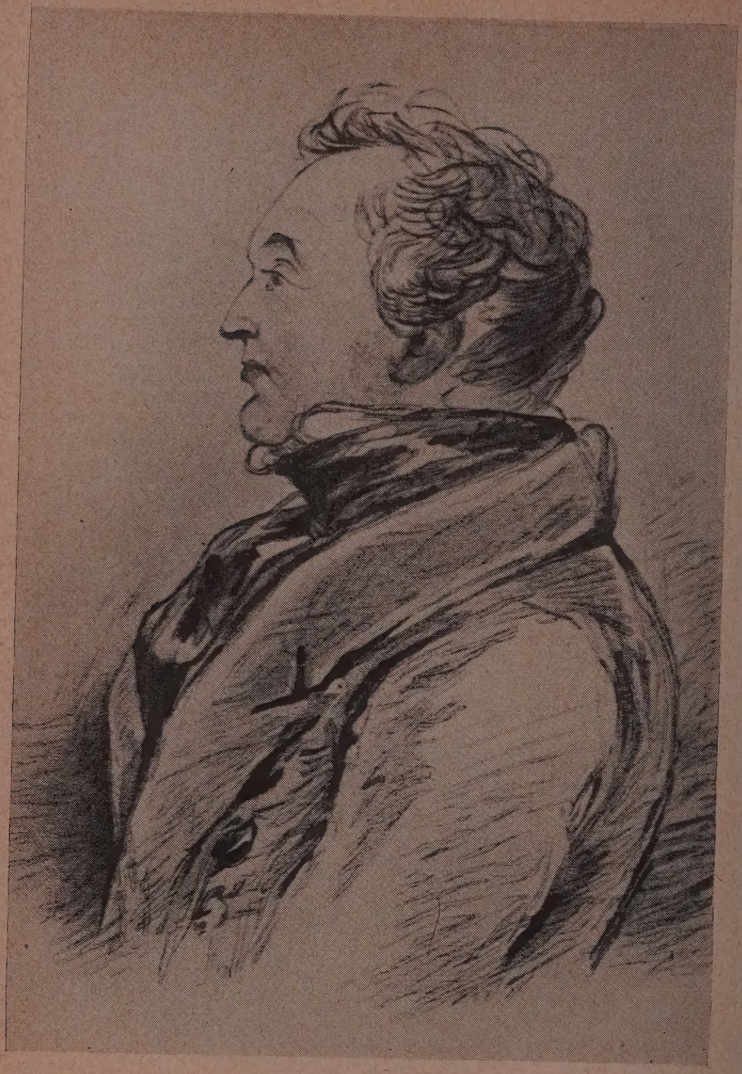


JOHN DICKENS

engraved by Edwin Roffe
after a pencil drawing

See page 5

THE DICKENSIAN

WINTER NUMBER

VOL. LIII. JANUARY 1957 No. 321

WHEN FOUND—

The Friends of *The Dickensian*

This plan for the assistance of *The Dickensian* has made an excellent start, and we have confidence that eventually all that has been hoped for it will be realised. A second list of Friends appears on p. 57, and a full report of progress to date will be made at the forthcoming Conference at Buxton in May. Friends are invited to contribute annually, a sum of their own choosing, in addition to their subscription. This number is the first of the new series, which will appear in January, May and September each year. Each issue will contain sixty-four pages, so that the annual total will equal that of the magazine when it was published quarterly.

* * * * *

Gifts from M.H. and G.H.

We were recently the guests of Sterling Offices Ltd. in their private luncheon rooms at the "George and Vulture". Such privileged guests are able to inspect the remarkable collection of gifts made to Dickens by Mary and Georgina Hogarth, and their sister Mrs. Dickens, which were certified by the younger sister many years afterwards. They include a fruit knife, engraved "From M.H. to C.D., 1834"; a travelling ink-well, "From M.H. to C.D., 1835"; a match-box, "G.H. to C.D., 1847"; another fruit knife, "K.D. to C.D."; a snuff box, "C.D., 1852"; a silver pencil; a book marker; and a card case. The earliest of these fascinating trinkets was thus given to Dickens by Mary Hogarth when she was only fourteen. It is fitting that they should now be treasured in the tavern where once Mr. Pickwick was "suspended".

* * * * *

Dumas and Dickens

Our welcome and bright new contemporary *The Dumasian* has another interesting Dickens allusion in its third number. Attention is drawn to a periodical entitled *Journal du Jeudi*, which commenced publication in May 1860, of which both Dumas *père* and *fils* were *rédacteurs*. Later in the same year it began a *feuilleton, Le Neveu de ma Tante*, which proves to be *David Copperfield*.

* * * * *

T.V. Prize

Congratulations to Miss Jane Brown of the Wolverhampton Branch, on winning a prize of some £3,000 in a Dickens Quiz on the commercial television screen.

Conference A most attractive programme is being arranged by the Sheffield Branch for the 1957 Conference, which will be held at Buxton, Derbyshire, on May 24th to 27th next. Programmes will be available shortly from all Hon. Secretaries or from Mrs. J. Moxon, 50 Grove Avenue, Sheffield.

* * * * *

The Annual Dickens Festival at Broadstairs will take place on June 11th to 15th. Details may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Dickens House, Broadstairs, Kent. Among the features is the Garden Party at "Bleak House" a scene from which event last year is shown here. The central event will be five performances of Gladys Waterer's adaptation of *David Copperfield*, which is one of her very best.

* * * * *

Anglo-Russian Relations Among the parting gifts presented to Galina Ulanova, the *prima ballerina* of the Bolshoi Ballet, when the company left London after its Covent Garden season, was a statuette of Pickwick. A few weeks before this a deputation of the British Medical Association visited Moscow. Mr. J. G. M. Hamilton, M.B., physician to the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, writes in the British Medical Journal:

"Our party were received at the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. by the President, Professor Bakulev, and nine of his fellow-academicians, who, besides giving us an account of the structure and functions of the Academy and its associated institutes, entertained us to lunch, when the official B.M.A. gift was presented—a chairman's hammer and block made from the wood of a mulberry tree which grew in the garden of Charles Dickens's house in Tavistock Square on the site of which B.M.A. House now stands. The gift evoked much interest and some amusement, but at the Deputy Minister's farewell cocktail party Professor Bakulev told me that in the interval he had already been able to quell a disputatious meeting of the Academy with its aid."

LESLIE C. STAPLES

JOHN DICKENS, JOURNALIST

By William J. Carlton

FOR twenty years, from April 1805 until his resignation in March 1825, the father of Charles Dickens was a civil servant in the employ of the Navy Pay Office. His duties in that capacity and the preoccupations inseparable from the bringing up of a large family cannot have left him much leisure for literary pursuits; but we know that he made at least one incursion into journalism while stationed at Chatham, where three of his eight children were born. He had been an eye-witness of the destructive fire in that town on March 3rd, 1820, a detailed account of which occupied more than half a column in the next day's London *Times*. According to Robert Langton, this was from the pen of John Dickens, and it may be surmised that his brother-in-law, John Henry Barrow, at that time a reporter on the *Times*, was instrumental in securing its publication.

Charles Dickens told a fellow clerk in the office of Ellis & Blackmore, in or about 1827, that his father was "a first-rate shorthand writer on Gurney's system and a capital reporter", and that he was at one time on the staff of a paper called the *British Press*. Samuel Carter Hall was serving his apprenticeship to journalism in 1826 as a reporter for the *British Press*, a London daily newspaper with offices at 181 Strand, and when writing his reminiscences many years later recalled that John Dickens, "a gentleman of no great intellectual capacity", had been a member of the parliamentary corps of that journal.[1] Barrow had contributed articles on Indian affairs to its pages as early as 1822, and may have used his influence to secure a foothold on its staff for his brother-in-law. However that may be, it is now possible to furnish definite evidence that the elder Dickens was not only in the employ of the *British Press* but that he was the author of a series of articles on marine insurance published in that newspaper in the autumn of 1826.

Marine insurance had been carried on by individual enterprise exclusively until the scandal of the South Sea Bubble led to the grant of royal charters to the Royal Exchange and London Assurance Corporations, giving them a virtual monopoly in the transaction of marine insurance business as far as joint stock companies were concerned, though leaving individuals still free to engage in it. This may help to account for the prosperity of the private underwriters who in course of time founded "Lloyd's". The repeal of the "Bubble" Act in 1824 was the signal for the springing up of a whole host of companies undertaking marine insurance and thus becoming competitors of Lloyd's and the corporations. In the struggle which ensued between Lloyd's and the new companies John Dickens played a modest part which might never have become known but for an entry in the minutes of a meeting of Lloyd's Committee, held on February 7th, 1827, which runs as follows:

[1] *Retrospect of a Long Life*, 1883, I, 111.

" Read letter from Mr. John Dickens, of yesterday's date, transmitting nine original articles on the subject of marine insurance, and in support of this establishment, which were inserted in the 'British Press' between 8th September and 30th October last, when he filled the situation of City Correspondent.

" Mr. Dickens stated that the failure of that Newspaper had caused him serious pecuniary inconvenience and he trusted the Committee would not permit any effort on behalf of the subscribers to go uncompensated.

" Resolved that the sum of £10 10s. 0d. be presented to Mr. Dickens."

Under the heading " St. Patrick's Marine Insurance Company ", the *British Press* of September 12th, 1826, had printed a communication from a correspondent whose identity was concealed by the initial " Z ". It was to the effect that, at a meeting in Dublin a few days before, the company had resolved to give up business in marine insurance. " It is to be hoped," said the writer, " that other companies, instituted for similar purposes, will profit by the example here set them, and abandon a business which it is impossible they can carry on without loss to themselves and danger to the public . . . A finer example of national honour and probity cannot be afforded than that which was displayed by the under-writers of Lloyds during the late long and protracted war. It is only in the hands of such persons, possessing such fortunes, and acting upon their own individual responsibilities, that such a description of business as under-writing can be safely and effectively pursued . . . Although the Companies in question are formed upon just and honourable principles, they are wholly ineffective in the grand material—capital, and, consequently, the sooner they are dissolved the better will it be for the shareholders as well as the public."

Further articles on this theme appeared over the signature of " Z " in the same journal of September 22nd and 29th, and October 5th. After a stormy meeting of the St. Patrick's Company called to receive the report of a committee appointed to investigate its affairs, ten of the directors tendered their resignation and it was suggested that the shareholders should be called upon for payment of a further instalment on their shares. Commenting on this in the *British Press* of October 12th, " Z " wrote: " It does not appear whether there are any Reverends in the Direction of this Company—a circumstance which is so conspicuous in that of the South Devon: should there be, it would be very hard upon them; but never mind, they had no business to fish in *troubled* waters. If they could 'command the winds, and smooth the ruffled deep', then, indeed, they would form most potent and valuable auxiliaries to a Marine Insurance Company."

In the issue of October 16th an account by " Z " of the proceedings at another meeting of shareholders concluded: " That which has taken weeks, and may, perhaps, months, to be done by this Company, would have been accomplished in Lloyd's rooms in a day or so . . . A letter from one of the Scotch ports announces that the Agent to this company had left off taking insurances, but that

the ' South Devon ' had it in contemplation to nominate an Agent there, the person contemplated for that office being a ' friend ', otherwise a Tim. Tartlet, a pastry-cook. Good! The capital £25,000, the Directors principally parsons, and the Agents pastry-cooks! Oh, it must be a prosperous concern! One puff—not a tartlet puff nor a parson's puff, but a good miller's puff—would send them all upon their beam-ends together!"

Finally, a long article on October 30th brought the series to a close. " The exposition which has taken place as to the affairs of the Saint Patrick's Assurance Company", wrote " Z ", " forms matter of deep import, not only to that part of the commercial world immediately concerned with the shipping interest, but through them to others, as regards the honour, character, and stability which attach in the eyes of foreigners to England, as a commercial nation. During the period of a war, unparalleled in history for its duration, most ably was commerce benefited, protected and extended by the operation of those wealthy individuals, known under the appellation of the Underwriters of Lloyd's. There is scarcely a port on the globe, or an inhabitant of a civilised nation engaged in trade, that does not owe something to the honour and integrity of those who, in the possession of princely fortunes, came forward to afford protection to foreign and domestic commerce, by marine insurance; and which, from the circumstances of the times, was carried to an extent that defies a similitude of example in the history of the world.

" Such was the situation of commerce as connected with Marine Insurance over a long series of years, and until the return of peace, when amidst the feverish excitation which existed for the employment of capital—the necessary consequence of a super-abundance of money, and limited means for its employment—companies out of number were formed, and amongst them several for effecting Marine Insurance. The progress, however, which has marked their career, has been anything but satisfactory, and the result of the St. Patrick's, selected for an example, gives a striking illustration of the fact that Marine Insurance cannot be carried on by companies, either with advantage to the Merchant or profit to the Shareholder . . . Then to those who have protected commerce triumphantly through a long series of losses, both by the battle and the breeze, let it be in common justice and in common honesty confided."

Some of the more grandiloquent passages in these articles have a distinctly Micawberish flavour, and the entry in the minutes of Lloyd's Committee proves conclusively that the anonymous author was the father of Charles Dickens. Although his long service in the Navy Pay Office may have qualified him to write on such a topic as marine insurance, the motive which prompted him to insist so vehemently on the advantages of entrusting this business to the city magnates known collectively as " Lloyd's " can only be conjectured. The letter which resulted in his receiving a cheque for ten guineas has disappeared and no doubt perished in the fire which destroyed most of the archives of Lloyd's in 1838.

If John Dickens was indeed the " City Correspondent " of the *British Press*, further contributions from his pen might have

appeared in its columns but for the fact that, on the day after the last of them was printed, its existence of nearly 25 years came to an end. His plea that the failure of this source of income had caused him "serious pecuniary inconvenience" was a characteristically euphemistic understatement. Its consequences were disastrous and were not long in making themselves felt. The Dickens family were evicted from their home at 13 Johnson Street, Somers Town, for non-payment of rates, in March 1827; Charles was withdrawn from Wellington House Academy about the same time; and in June of that year his sister Fanny was obliged to leave the Royal Academy of Music because her luckless father could neither clear the debt incurred for her board and tuition nor continue to pay her fees.

Little is known of the activities of Dickens *père* during the next few years save that his brother-in-law, John Henry Barrow, found employment for him on the *Mirror of Parliament* soon after that ambitious venture was started in January 1828, one of his duties being to send proofs of their speeches to M.P.s for correction. When he gave evidence to this effect at the trial of an action against the proprietors and editor of the *Mirror* on February 9th, 1831, it would seem that he was no longer on the staff of the paper.[1] Forster's statement that he entered the gallery as a reporter for the *Morning Herald*, about the time that he took lodgings for his family at 18 Bentinck Street (January 1833), appears to be borne out by the obituary notice reprinted at the end of this article. Two years later John Dickens put in what he called "17 devilish hard days' and nights' work" in connection with the election campaign of Charles Tennyson before the latter was returned as M.P. for Lambeth[2]—a job for which he was probably again indebted to his brother-in-law. That he was still doing some parliamentary reporting about this time seems clear from a letter of February 14th, 1837, to Chapman & Hall, asking for a loan, in which he referred to his "duties in the gallery".[3]

When the *Daily News* was launched on January 21st, 1846, with Charles Dickens at the helm, his father was in charge of the reporting staff including some of the ablest men in the profession. One of them at least seems to have thought that John Dickens was by training and capacity about as well suited for this onerous and honourable post as Mr. Micawber would have been; but "it was something that 'turned up' in conjunction with his illustrious son's prosperity, and he took it with an airy grace which, however, did not hide his inefficiency from the eyes of his young staff."[4] In any case, he took his new duties very seriously. "John Dickens revelled in work as well as play," wrote Blanchard Jerrold; "in a bowl of gin punch, which it was his delight to mix at the Rainbow, in Fleet Street, and over which I have heard him tell many a capital story, not more than in his work as first manager of the parliamentary staff of the *Daily News*."[5]

[1] *The Times*, February 10th, 1831, p. 5.
[2] *Dickens to his Oldest Friend*, ed. W. Dexter (1932), p. 267.
[3] Fitzgerald coll., Eastgate House, Rochester.
[4] Thomas Thornhill Clarkson (1815-1889), quoted by Sir H. W. Lucy in "The Last of an Old Journalist" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, January 3rd, 1890, p. 6).
[5] *Life of George Cruikshank*, new ed., 1883, p. 158.

Lord John Russell having failed to form a government after the resignation of the Peel Ministry at the close of 1845, Sir Robert Peel had resumed office pledged to repeal the duties on corn. As the time approached for him to expound his views in the House of Commons on this momentous reversal of policy, the country was keyed to a high pitch of excitement and feverish preparations were made in the London newspaper offices to secure a full report of the eagerly awaited speech. On the eve of the great day Dickens wrote from the *Daily News* office to his old friend Beard: "We intend—*sub rosa*—having Peel's speech taken in short turns on Tuesday night; published in a second edition of that morning's Paper as soon as he is down; and sent by special engines, to every town on every line in England."[1] John Dickens, for his part, addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister himself:

House of Commons Gallery
Monday Night

Sir,

As representing the Parliamentary Department of the "Daily News" I take the liberty with very great respect, to ask, whether, with reference to the very important speech to be delivered by you tomorrow night, it is consistent with your opinion upon such subjects to supply *copies* of the Documents, or references to them, used by you in the course of your argument, at its close.

It is not for me presumptuously to imagine the interest which the speech necessarily excites, but I know the difficulty, as regards time, in obtaining what are termed "pulls" of Documents when supplied to one paper only. I trust without offence I may be permitted to observe (without desiring to throw the smallest blame upon any one) that it would greatly facilitate the dissemination of Parliamentary information, if on great and paramount occasions, seperate [*sic*] copies of important Documents could be supplied.

With the greatest possible respect
I am Sir
Your most obedient Humble servant
John Dickens
for the Editor of the Daily News.

Sir Robert Peel Bart.

This letter was endorsed: "26 Jan/46 Mr. Dickens Ansd. 28/1. Say that I was sorry having only one Copy of the Note I was unable to comply with his wish but I hope he had the advantage of accepting that copy which I was assured would be accessible to the Reporters without distribution."[2]

Sir Robert Peel spoke for four hours, and the *Daily News* of January 28th containing a verbatim report of the speech was on sale in Bouverie Street at 5 a.m. That same morning the elder Dickens set out for Exeter and Plymouth, accompanied by his youngest son Augustus, with copies of the special edition. The cost of long telegrams was prohibitive, the electric telegraph being in its infancy. As soon as he reached Exeter John Dickens left a

[1] *Letters of Charles Dickens*, Nonesuch ed., I, 732.
[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 40, 583, f. 139.

supply of his papers at the office of the *Western Times*, then a sort of clearing house for distribution to other west-country newspapers. Thomas Latimer, its editor, was an old acquaintance of Charles Dickens, whom he had met more than ten years earlier when reporting Lord John Russell's election speech at Exeter, and again in 1839 when the novelist was seeking a home for his parents in that neighbourhood. So impressed was Latimer with the exploit that he wrote in the *Western Times* of January 31st: " On Wednesday morning, an express edition, containing the whole of the speech of Sir Robert Peel, arrived at our office soon after seven o'clock. The express was conveyed by Mr. Dickens, sen., the father of Boz, who came down the line because he knows the pace, and can go it. Mr. Dickens is a gentleman of most enviable stamina. Time seems to have made no impression on him whatever. He had left London in the morning, travelled here by rail, thence to Plymouth by chaise, and back again, and favouring us with a call, announced his intention to go back to London that night—and kept his word. That is Boz's father."[1]

Little more than a week later Dickens resigned the editorial chair of the *Daily News*; but his father continued to be a member of the staff, although the treatment he received at the hands of William Bradbury aroused the novelist's resentment and provoked him to write to Bradbury's partner, Frederick M. Evans, on February 26th that " there is not a more zealous, disinterested or useful gentleman attached to the paper."[2]

The offices of the newspaper were in a block of buildings approached from Fleet Street through an archway which led into a back lane parallel with Bouverie Street. A staircase in the publishing office gave access to the editor's sanctum on the first floor, the sub-editors' room being on the floor above. The room where John Dickens presided and the reporters went in and out to write their reports was in an adjoining building, over the printing presses in the basement. The elder Dickens had to make frequent visits to Thomas Powell, the sub-editor, to report the progress of affairs at Westminster and arrange for the many meetings to be covered—a trying ordeal for a man of his solid bulk. He is described as short, portly, fond of a glass of grog, full of fun, never given to much locomotion, but sitting as chairman and looking carefully to the regular marking and orderly despatch to the printers of the manuscripts thrown off at lightning speed by the men from the gallery.

It was his habit, we are told, to arrive at the office about 8 p.m., and he invariably in all weathers walked down Fleet Street and turned into the passage leading into Whitefriars. " Every night as regularly as clock-work he was relieved of his silk pocket-handkerchief by the thieves of the great neighbouring thoroughfare, and he would deplore the loss in feeling terms when he tried to wipe the perspiration from his brow; for it was a peculiarity of his nature that he was always hot, whatever the weather might be." He maintained that he knew when his pocket was picked but could not help himself, he being too stout and the disciple of

[1] *Western Times*, January 31st, 1846, p.5.
[2] *Letters of Charles Dickens*, Nonesuch ed., I., 738.

Fagin too nimble. Once, however, seeing the approaching pick-pocket in the reflection of a glass window, he had just time to put his hand into his coat-tail and catch the thief by the wrist. " Now, my young friend," he cried, " I have caught you, and you shall pay for your audacity; so take that, and that ! " as he belaboured the culprit, who was quite young, with his umbrella. Each blow was met with a " Don't, I won't do it again," until he was finally released. But his repentance was short-lived. The next night he robbed his victim as before, without his being aware of it.[1]

The exact date when John Dickens's engagement on the *Daily News* came to an end is not known; but it must have been some time before he succumbed to a long-standing complaint on March 31st, 1851, following a severe operation performed by Dr. Robert Wade at the house of another surgeon, Robert Davey, where both Dickens's parents had been living since the previous year. The death certificate described John Dickens as " an editor of the *Daily News*."

Charles Dickens himself sent the brief announcement of this event which appeared under " Births, Marriages, and Deaths " in the *Daily News* of April 1st, 1851; and it may be that the following paragraph, printed on another page of the same issue, came from the novelist's pen:

> DEATH OF MR. JOHN DICKENS. Yesterday, the 31st ult., died at his residence in Keppel-street, Russell-square, Mr. John Dickens, a gentleman who for the last quarter of a century has been connected with the London daily press. In his earlier years Mr. Dickens held an important office in the Navy-pay Department, at Chatham Dockyard, and up to the period of his decease was in the enjoyment of a pension for long service from the government. It was towards the period of middle life that he joined " the press ", and he had been ever since known as one of its most efficient, and at the same time, one of its most respected members. During his literary career he had been connected with the *Mirror of Parliament*, and the *Morning Herald*, and upon the establishment of the *Daily News* he held a most responsible position in connexion with its reporting staff—the acknowledged efficiency of which is mainly due to his large experience and correct judgment.

[1] Sir Joseph Crowe, *Reminiscences of Thirty-five Years of my Life*, 1895, pp. 68-70.

LONDON DICKENSIANS CELEBRATE CHRISTMAS

One hundred and twenty members and friends, including Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Caddick, of Christchurch, N.Z., attended a Candle-light Christmas Supper in the fourteenth century Crosby Hall, Chelsea, on December 14th. The scene was an impressive one, with the long tables lit by silver candelabra, and the lovely roof floodlit. After a supper of traditional Christmas fare had been served, the men enjoyed a churchwarden pipe of tobacco, and the tables were cleared, there was a programme of choruses, dances, songs, a recital from *A Christmas Carol*, by Mr. John Greaves, and carol singing. Miss Elsie Taylor presided at the piano.

A 17TH CENTURY KIT NUBBLES

By Frank A. Gibson

I

THAT Dickens knew and read the published collection of important legal cases known as The State Trials is evident not merely from the catalogue of his library but from the mention by Forster of " a domestic story he had met with in the State Trials " which had " struck him greatly by its capabilities." The story, one of parricide by a daughter, bears some resemblance to the case of Mary Blandy, who was executed in 1752 for poisoning her father; but it may be thought that this terrible and rather sordid case would have inspired Dickens less than another and earlier one in which may be found a striking parallel to the story of Kit Nubbles, Quilp and Brass.

The " planting " of valuables for reasons hidden or illicit goes back in record to the days of the Old Testament, of Joseph, Benjamin and the cup; in the present parallel we may perhaps echo the worthy Fluellen in his comment on the Wye and the river in Macedon, and modestly claim that " There is salmons in both."

Our seventeenth-century Kit Nubbles was " Robert Hawkins, Clerk, late Minister at Chilton " (Bucks.), a clergyman in the Church of England, against whom a true bill was returned by the Grand Jury at Aylesbury Assizes in 1668 on a charge of felony. The Sampson Brass was one Henry Larimore, also of Chilton, who accused Hawkins of stealing two gold rings, one white holland apron, two ten-shilling gold pieces and nineteen shillings in silver. The charge was a capital one, and the hearing was presided over by the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Matthew Hale, later Lord Chief Justice, and chiefly remembered to-day for his belief in witches—a belief maintained, incidentally, by John Wesley more than a century later. This case was mentioned in an article on the State Trials in Thackeray's *Cornhill Magazine*, the writer of which remarked that the judge did not appear to have helped the accused towards his acquittal. The suggestion—founded on the quantity of irrelevant evidence allowed by the judge—was most unjust, for, as will be seen, Hale made a remarkable discovery during the hearing which completely undermined the Prosecution's case.

In addition to the contemporary Sampson Brass, there was the equivalent of a Quilp, in the person of a Sir John Croke, a Justice of the Peace, who sent two of his sons, as well as his manservant, to give evidence at the trial in support of the charge. He was in fact the inventor of the whole plot to get this innocent clergyman hanged, but, as Quilp would have done, he remained discreetly in the background, not attending court to learn the decision of the Grand Jury, and only attending the trial as a spectator during part of the hearing.

II

Hawkins, our contemporary Kit, had apparently got himself disliked for his zeal in collecting Church of England tithes,

particularly from anabaptists, to which sect Larimore, the complainant, belonged. Larimore said that " upon Friday, the 18th of September, in the Year of Our Lord 1668 " he left his house entirely unoccupied but with locked doors, in order—a prescient touch !—to pluck hemp in a hemp plot some two furlongs away. Returning a few hours later he found the doors wide open and ran upstairs to a loft over his bedroom. (Why he went to the loft he did not say.) Hearing a noise below, he peeped through a chink in the loft floor-boards and saw Hawkins in the bedroom ransacking a box in which there were amongst other things two gold rings, one white holland apron, two ten-shilling gold pieces and nineteen shillings in silver. These items he saw taken out of the box by the prisoner, who then ran out of the bedroom and the house, " with a great bunch of keys in his hand," to hide himself in a close where there were some beans and weeds.

All this was clear enough, if a trifle unworthy of Sampson Brass. But the complainant brilliantly put himself into the Brass standard by his next move, with a search warrant. Entering Hawkins's house with a constable on the following day, he found in an inward room below stairs, " in a basket hanging on a pin," a gold ring and a five-shillings silver piece which he identified as part of the property he had seen stolen by Hawkins.

Confirmatory evidence of the latter portion of this strange piece of housebreaking—the escape to the " close "—was then given by the complainant's son and sister, and all three witnesses were ironically complimented by the judge, who said: " Here is enough sworn (if believed) to hang twenty men."

The constable, proved by other evidence to be unfriendly to the prisoner, was asked by Hawkins if the complainant himself had found the ring and five-shillings piece in the larder basket, and replied affirmatively. The prisoner, he said, was there when they were found, but this Hawkins emphatically denied, pointing out that two of his witnesses had proved he was in the entrance-hall when the missing articles were " found " in the buttery below.

A good deal of rather confused evidence followed, the object of which was to trace the recent history of the ring and coin—a providentially " marked " coin—and prove they were Larimore's property, and this adroit diversion from the main theme was cut short by the prisoner's remarking that the only material point was whether he had stolen them. The judge, by now perhaps getting rather tired, was brought back to reality by the shock of Larimore's next witness, one John Chilton. To the judge's kindly enquiry: " Come, Chilton, what can you say to this business ? " the witness gave the astonishing reply: " My Lord, I can say nothing but that I am paid for my *boots* "—a remark which would have seemed odd in Mr. F.'s aunt. " What boots ? " asked the judge. The witness repeated that he had been paid for his boots. The long-suffering Lord Chief then said: " Our business is not now about boots, but, however, come and tell me what thou meanest by them."

It then transpired that Hawkins had left a pair of boots with cobbler Chilton for repair. When he called for them the boots were done, but Chilton was at that moment going out and told

Hawkins he would leave them for him later in his shop window, where Hawkins could pick them up, which he subsequently did. The boots had been paid for. Chilton had been approached since by Larimore and asked to say that Hawkins had stolen the boots from his shop window. Several more prosecution witnesses came forward at the invitation of the judge (who now seemed quite anxious to clear up the boots mystery), but all they could do was to contradict Chilton's emphatic denial that he had ever accused Hawkins of stealing the boots, although he had been offered £100 to do so. As witness for the prosecution, the brave cobbler was not a success.

The prosecution were then permitted to introduce second-hand stories of the prisoner's stealing a gold ring and gold piece from a man named Noble, who was not in court, had made no charge, and could not be traced. The prisoner protested that it was no more true that he had picked Noble's pocket than that he had stolen his own boots.

[The mysterious Noble was said to have been intoxicated at the time, and it seems possible that the accused clergyman may have unwisely collected overdue tithes without the man's permission.]

Sampson Brass and Quilp in the persons of Larimore and Sir John Croke were then brought upon the scene by a defence witness named Samuel Brown, who began inauspiciously by remarking that he was afraid to say anything. Being given by the Assize Clerk a "Writ of Privilege" to see him safely home afterwards, he proceeded to fill the rôle of the marchioness by describing in detail a plot to hang Hawkins which he had overheard at night by eavesdropping in Sir John Croke's house. The plotters were Croke and Larimore. The gist of the plot was the "planting" of convenient valuables on Hawkins. The Lord Chief Baron said: "Mr. Brown, is all this true which you have related?" and Brown replied: "Yes, my lord, all that I have said is true, and there sits Sir John Croke" (pointing to him with his finger) "who knows that every word that I have said is true." A minute or two later the knight slipped momentarily into the rôle of the elusive Sally by slipping out of court.

III

The summing up of the evidence by the learned judge was eminently fair, but any doubt that the jury would have difficulty in deciding which side to believe may have been discounted by his opening remark: "Come, come, Larimore, thou art a very villain; nay, I think thou art a devil." Sir George Jeffreys himself (later the infamous L.C.J.) could not have done better.

On the "planting" of the ring and five-shillings piece, the judge remarked that it was an easy thing for Larimore to "juggle them into a basket," he being first in the room. It was Larimore who "turned out the eggs and had the dressing of them." He was "a special cook."

Previous to his summing-up, and, having confirmed that Sir John ("Sally") Croke, J.P., had indeed vanished from the court, the Lord Chief Baron said he must nevertheless tell them that the knight had that morning sent him two sugar-loaves as a present,

with his apology for not attending court at the opening of the assizes on the previous day. " I did not," said Sir Matthew, " know so well as now what he meant by them; but to save his credit I sent his sugar-loaves back again. Mr. Harvey [the clerk of the Assize] " did you not send Sir John his sugar-loaves back again ? " The clerk confirmed that these " sweeteners " had been duly returned.

The jury gave their verdict of " Not guilty " without leaving court, and Hale said: " You have found like honest men: I do believe that he is not guilty." " Larimore," he repeated, as a parting shot, " thou art a very villain."

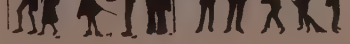
The judge impounded a document in the case, and the report includes a note that Larimore and Croke had hurriedly left town.

A decisive point in clearing up this conspiracy—a minor one but involving life or ignominious death for the accused—was contributed by the Lord Chief Baron when he called for production of the search warrant and immediately discovered an important fact of which the prisoner was unaware, that it was applied for on the day before the alleged theft.

Actually, after this had been made clear, another of Hawkins's witnesses proved beyond doubt that he, the witness, had been discussing business matters with Larimore in the latter's house during the whole time the housebreaking had been supposed to be taking place. When the complainant said: " No, we were together the day before," it was only necessary to point out that he had been occupied at the relevant time on that day in obtaining the search warrant.

So the seventeenth-century " planting " plot was cleared up just as convincingly as the one involving the reputation and liberty of Christopher Nubbles; for, without allowing for the revenge motive in Sampson Brass which prompted the confession of the plot with Quilp, it would have been touch and go with poor Kit. Such hardened liars might not have found it difficult to maintain their case against the disclosure by the little marchioness. Brass's choice to be revenged on Quilp is, however, inescapable.

The civil aspect of the law, which particularly interested Dickens, peeped out at the end of this case, when the " jaylor " asked the judge whether Hawkins was " discharged of his imprisonment." The reply was " Yes, yes, he is discharged, paying his fees "; and Hawkins remarked that he was a poor man and had been put to great loss and expense by the case. " I cannot help that," replied the Lord Chief Baron, adding reasonably enough: " Nor can I give away other men's rights. If they will not remit their fees you must pay them." The charges were the jailers' charges, or impositions, neither side being represented in court by counsel. It was a legal fiction of the time that the judge was counsel for the prisoner—a function, it may be agreed, not unworthily fulfilled on this occasion by Sir Matthew Hale.



MRS. GOODMAN'S AND "THE RED LION" AT HIGHGATE

By R. G. Anderson

SOME time in 1832, probably in the spring or summer, Dickens, then a young man of twenty, wrote to his friend Henry Kolle:

> My dear Kolle,—As we have had a little sickness among our family, we intend going to Highgate for a fortnight. The spot we have chosen is in a very pleasant neighbourhood, and I have discovered a green lane which looks as if nature had intended it for a smoking place. If you can make it convenient to come down, write to me and fix your own day. I am sorry I cannot offer you a bed, because we are so pressed for room that I myself hang out at "the Red Lion"; but should you be disposed to stay all night, I have no doubt you can be provided with a bed at the same establishment. The address is "Mrs. Goodman's, next door to the old Red Lion, Highgate." The place has no other name; but a twopenny directed as above will no doubt find us . . .

On p. 95 of *The Dickensian* for April 1912, there appears a photograph taken at that time by T. W. Tyrrell and showing Mrs. Goodman's house as altered when the "Red Lion" was demolished in 1900; little in that photograph is changed to-day—even the old iron post for the inn sign still stands, fifty-six years after the inn itself disappeared! The article by B. W. Matz which accompanied the photograph says:

> It would appear from information we have gathered that the descendants of Mrs. Goodman have continually lived there. Our informant, an old postman of the district, remembers the time when Mrs. Goodman's daughter occupied it. He, of course, remembers, too, the "Red Lion", which he frequented until it was demolished.

The photograph here reproduced comes from the George Potter Collection at the British Museum, and was taken about 1883, i.e., just over fifty years after Dickens's stay. Probably little was changed during that fifty years either, so that it is fairly safe to assume that the photograph shows the "Red Lion" and Mrs. Goodman's house (extending over the entrance to the inn yard) much as they were in 1832.

The road through Highgate village (which was part of the Great North Road until the cutting of Archway Road about 1812) includes a broad level stretch, now called North Road, forming an obvious halting place for travellers who came up Highgate Hill from the south or up North Hill from the north. Of the many places of refreshment in the village to which wayfarers might repair, the "Red Lion" at the north end of this level stretch was rivalled in fame only by the Gate House Tavern at the south end.

The "Red Lion" was flourishing in the 1760's, for Hone, in discussing in 1826 the ancient ceremony of the Highgate Oath, remarks:

"Swearing on the *horns*", which now is "a custom more

honour'd in the breach than in the observance," prevailed at Highgate as a continual popular amusement and private annoyance. An old and respectable inhabitant of the village says, that sixty years ago upwards of eighty stages stopped every day at the " Red Lion ", and that out of every five passengers three were sworn. It is a jocular usage of the place, from beyond the memory of man, especially encouraged by

" The Red Lion " Highgate, *ca.* 1883.
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

certain of the villagers, to the private advantage of public landlords . . .

Hone's detailed description of this old custom appears to be the principal source from which numerous subsequent writers on the subject have directly or indirectly obtained their information: it lists the nineteen inns in Highgate in 1826, with the kind of horns (bullock's, ram's or stag's) used for the ceremony at each; the particular emblem at the " Red Lion " consisted of ram's horns. (The " eighty stages every day " may have been partly the result of temporary diversion from the Gate House Tavern which underwent extensive alterations in the 1760's.)

The " Red Lion " apparently experienced a sudden burst of winter trade in 1814, for Prickett tells us that in that year " the road over Finchley Common . . . was impassable, in consequence of the great fall of snow, and 200 men were employed to clear it away, and five or six stage-coaches were drawn up at the Red Lion."

The name of the innkeeper at the time of Dickens's stay is in doubt. Taking our information from the old directories, which must be relied upon with reservations, we find that in 1823 the innkeeper was John Goodman. By 1826 he had probably died, for an Elizabeth Goodman then held the inn. A relationship

between John, Elizabeth, and Dickens's Mrs. Goodman no doubt existed, but what it was is not known (the latter two may have been one and the same person). Some time between 1828 and July 1832 Elizabeth Goodman moved to the " Rising Sun ", 38 Cloth Fair, and her place at the " Red Lion " was taken, either immediately or after one or more unknown innkeepers between, by William Philpott. By 1836 William Englefield was the innkeeper, and it is just possible that he came in 1832 but too late for inclusion in the directory of that year. Elizabeth Goodman, William Philpott, William Englefield, and maybe others in between, must all therefore be considered as possible hosts to Dickens.

Investigation of the name " Kimpton " on the inn sign reveals the following: in 1823 there was in Highgate village an Edward Kimpton, saddler and harness maker. By 1836 he had apparently died and his widow Jane carried on the business, assisted by her son John, then aged 13. According to the 1837 Rate Book, Jane then owned the " Red Lion ", but its occupier was a Mrs. Simes: this is the earliest reference found which links the name Kimpton with the inn. In 1840 Jane apparently became innkeeper and she so remained until 1865, John meanwhile taking charge of the saddlery business. By 1868 Jane had probably died (she would then have been about 67) and John is entered as innkeeper. Two years later he had given place to William Thomas Upton, but the Kimpton era had lasted for over thirty years, during which Dickens must have visited Highgate many times and would have thus become quite familiar with the sign shown in the photograph.

About the turn of the century, when the innkeeper was apparently Arthur Lable, the inn lost its licence, and in February 1900 it was demolished. The *Islington Post* for March 3rd, 1900, says that a sign-board then stood on the site which read: " This site to be let for building purposes, but not for a tavern." Thus the " Red Lion ", a landmark in Highgate for at least 140 years, was no more.

With regard to Mrs. Goodman's house, the early directories were limited to trade entries and therefore would not mention its occupants. The first reference so far found is in the November 1837 Rate Book which gives Mary Goodman as occupier and owner. There are indications that Mary Hoole, wife of the 1870 occupier Stephen Hoole, may have been the " daughter " whom Mr. Matz's old postman remembered in 1912 as living there, but whether the 1837 Mary Goodman was this daughter or her mother is not clear. In 1899 Mrs. Goodman's house was occupied by Wm. Henry Giles and the Highgate Conservative Association. The present writer has been in touch with the family who have lived there in more recent years, but they have no further information to give which would be of interest to students of Dickens.

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Every-day Book, Vol. II (1826), by W. Hone.

The History and Antiquities of Highgate, Middlesex, by Frederick Prickett, 1842.

Pigot's Directories issued in 1823, 1826, 1828, 1832 and 1836.

Rate Books, 1837, 1839-1846 and 1853-1856, to which access has kindly been given by Mr. E. Ley, the Deputy Borough Treasurer of Hornsey; these are

apparently the only years for which Rate Books are now in existence, before about 1890.

Census Returns, 30.6.1841 and 30.3.1851.

Kelly & Co's. "Nine Counties" Directory 1846, *Post Office Suburban Directories* 1860, 1863, 1865, 1868 and their local directory for 1899-1900.

Hampstead & Highgate "Express" Directory 1870.

DAVID COPPERFIELD TELEVISED

DICKENS had wonderful imagination. What is more, he had the power of conveying his imagination to his readers. Few who read Dickens can be in any doubt as to the appearance, behaviour and habits of his creations, nor of the scenes he so vividly describes.

Any actor, actress or producer, therefore, courts severe criticism in trying to interpret Dickens on stage or screen. It follows that it was almost inevitable that the new B.B.C. serialisation of *David Copperfield* on the television screen would disappoint a great many Dickens lovers.

Bringing to it the greatest tolerance, I think that in this serialisation, both the production and, in most cases, the acting have failed dismally. Dickens wrote this great masterpiece in twenty monthly parts. It is being presented on the screen in thirteen weekly instalments of half an hour each. Six and a half hours in which to tell the great story to a huge public numbering millions—a finer opportunity than that enjoyed by any film or stage production.

No longer can the excuse be made that twenty hours' reading, or whatever time it takes one to read a book by Dickens, must be compressed to two hours on the stage or screen.

Cutting and telescoping there had to be, admittedly, but surely that does not excuse all the eccentricities of this production - Dora being made Mr. Spenlow's niece, Mr. Dick having dark hair, or the discrepancies between the age of David, Little Emly, and Uriah, or that Mr. Micawber, on the eve of going into prison for debt, should still be wearing a gold watch, or that the boys at the blacking warehouse should steal David's guinea (not half a guinea), lent to him by Mr. Micawber, or that all the Peggotty household should be present at the death of Barkis and no one in the old boat-house when Little Em'ly's flight was discovered, and so on. As a result, the last-named episode lost every vestige of its dramatic power.

Dickens was a genius. He wrote a masterpiece in *David Copperfield*. Then why spoil it ? I have a feeling that the company were poorly served by their producer. They were certainly not inspired by him with the spirit of Dickens, which never made itself manifest on the screen in this version.

I feel sure that I *know* what Dickens lovers are thinking about this production; but what are the people thinking who are having their first introduction to Dickens through this travesty of a great classic ? That is the important thing. Dickens is not speaking to those people and none of them, after seeing this production could be blamed for never wishing to open the book at all.

J.G.

PETER CUNNINGHAM, FRIEND OF DICKENS

By David Shusterman

PETER CUNNINGHAM is notorious in literary annals as a forger of valuable seventeenth-century documents; but he is also known as editor of various writings by Goldsmith, Horace Walpole, Dr. Johnson, and Drummond of Hawthornden, as the biographer of Inigo Jones and Nell Gwyn, and as the author of one of the best-sellers of the whole Victorian period, a handbook of London. He was also for a number of years a close friend of Charles Dickens. Biographers and critics of the Victorian novelist have never written much on the relationship between the two men; Cunningham is usually mentioned, and then dismissed, in a passing aside as someone who was engaged with Dickens in theatricals for a year or two. If all the books and articles on Dickens are to be taken as a criterion, the Dickens student has little notion of the manifold journalistic and scholarly work of Cunningham nor how closely that activity at times touched the affairs of his favourite. This oversight is hardly surprising, for scholars must select what seems most important and salient; even if there were no process of selection involved, people's minds turn naturally, by a process of social tropism, in the direction of the great or the near-great or the first-rate. Peter Cunningham is hardly to be placed in any of those categories; he is, from our viewpoint, one of the many obscure figures of the Victorian age. But sometimes, much to our surprise, a study of the obscure will illumine facets in the lives of important people: in Cunningham's case it will, I believe, do so with regard to Dickens.

Let us begin with the year 1842. In that year Cunningham became generally known as an antiquary and literary man of minor importance with the publication of *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., from the Office Book of the Masters and Yeomen.* Cunningham was then only twenty-six years old, but he had previously edited the works of Drummond of Hawthornden (at seventeen) in 1833, *Songs of England and Scotland* in 1835, and *Specimens of the British Poets* in 1841. To support himself, however, he had obtained a position, with the help of Sir Robert Peel, as clerk in the government Audit Office in London. In the basement of that office in Somerset House, Cunningham had luckily found rare manuscripts, seen by no one for over two hundred years, which made up the volume published in 1842. Cunningham was, by that time, not only a member and one of the founders of the Shakespeare Society but also its treasurer. Although the council of that august group consisted of such well-known figures as the Earl of Ellesmere, George L. Craik, Alexander Dyce, J. O. Halliwell, Henry Milman, and William Macready, the manuscripts which Cunningham had brought forth from the dusty interior of the old building were either never examined at all by these men or were inspected with the most superficial of glances. Bearing Cunningham's name as editor, the book was hailed instantly as a

find of the utmost importance, for it established for all time, it was thought, the chronology of some of Shakespeare's plays. Cunningham's discovery settled to the satisfaction of the leading Shakespeare scholars of the mid-nineteenth century the vexing problems of the dates of composition and production of *Measure for Measure*, *Othello*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*.

It is in connection with Shakespeare that we first hear Cunningham's name mentioned with that of the most popular novelist of the age. In 1847 the Shakespeare Society launched a drive to persuade the government to buy the playwright's home at Stratford and to maintain it as a national shrine. The project was dear to the heart of Dickens; he decided to organise a theatrical company to raise funds for a curatorship when, and if, the government would see the light. Dickens even had a candidate for the position; the proceeds of the company, he proposed, would be used for the benefit of James Sheridan Knowles, an impecunious dramatist, who would be installed as the first curator of the shrine. In association with Dickens, a group from the Shakespeare Society was selected to comprise the directors of general arrangement — John Payne Collier, Charles Knight, and Peter Cunningham.[1]

We are told that " Mr. Peter Cunningham, as an important member of the ' Shakespeare's House ' committee, managed the *un*-theatrical part " of the company.[2] It is clear, however, from the letters which Dickens wrote to Cunningham during that period, that the novelist kept a very close check on everything the latter did with regard to the enterprise. Most of these letters are of a routine business nature, being concerned with suggestions and orders pertaining to the theatrical company. For example, on April 21st, 1848, Dickens cautioned Cunningham: " It appears to me very important that your Committee should be in a condition to get out *some announcement* of the plays, immediately . . . It would be expensive to hire the Haymarket, but I have reason to believe that an arrangement might probably be effected with Mr. Webster, for his shutting up that Theatre and letting it to us." Dickens continued in the same letter with a remark about the projected tour which the company was to take after the London engagement: " The Stratford Theatre will hold, I take it, at high prices, about £200. The company being at Birmingham, it would certainly be desirable to act there to so much money,—if it could be filled, as the additional expenses would be very small indeed."[3]

The very next day, April 22nd, Dickens sent another communication to Cunningham, also of a routine business nature, but which is of some interest because it has, so far as I can discover, not been published.

> Forgetting Stratford (where I shall *not* be on Monday) I wrote you last night suggesting an immediate application to Mr. Webster who, I have reason to think, would let the Haymarket for the purpose. I will endeavour to clear the ground for you, before you return . . .

[1] T. Edgar Pemberton, *Charles Dickens and the Stage* (London, 1888), pp. 101-102.
[2] *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by his sister-in-law and his eldest daughter (London 1880), I, 186.
[3] *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Walter Dexter (Nonesuch Dickens), 1938, II, 81-82. Subsequent references to the letters of Dickens, unless otherwise noted, are to this edition.

For I think *immediate proceedings* in reference to public announcement most important to the success of the scheme.

Faithfully yours,
Charles Dickens.

Will you look at the Stratford Theatre while you are there and see what condition it appears to be in.[1]

There are other letters of a similar nature during the same period which would indicate that Dickens kept in close touch with Cunningham's activity on behalf of the company. Most of these letters are to be found in Dexter's excellent, but incomplete, collection; some of the rest are now in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. To quote from all these would be to multiply a mass of tedious detail, but it should be noticed that Cunningham became of increasingly greater value to Dickens as their acquaintance ripened into friendship. On May 11th Dickens urged him to send off a letter to the committee which was negotiating with governmental leaders: " I hurriedly add my word to Lemon's [Mark Lemon, a member of the theatrical company and editor of *Punch*], to say, earnestly, that I think your letter to the Shakespeare Committee of great importance and quite indispensable."[2] The first series of letters are all of a formal nature, being concerned only with matters of business, in most of which Dickens addressed Cunningham in the salutation as " My Dear Sir." But soon Dickens saw something more in Cunningham than a business manager, and attempted unsuccessfully to persuade him to become an active performer of the company. On June 22nd he wrote: " I wish I could persuade you, seriously, to come into training for Nym, in The Merry Wives. He is never on by himself, and all he has to do is good, without being difficult. If you could screw yourself up to the doing of the part in Scotland, it would prevent our taking some new man, and would cover you (all over) with glory " (II, 106). On July 28th Dickens was friendly enough with Cunningham to invite him to Broadstairs on the following Saturday a week where he proposed to entertain him: " There is a haunch of venison in the larder, just come up from Northamptonshire, which won't be ready sooner . . ." By that time, also, Dickens was undoubtedly aware of Cunningham's labours on a London handbook, for there is a brief reference in the same letter which applies to it: " How are the archaeological dummies? " There is also a reference to their common membership in the Shakespeare Society: "An infatuated wretch of the name of John Clow Tennant, of Liverpool, wishes to become a member of the Shakespeare Society. I will propose the poor creature, if you like, and perhaps you'll second him " (II, 112-113).

Cunningham's handbook of London is probably his best and most influential work. His contemporaries found it so much to their liking that an edition was published each year till 1857.

[1] Berg Collection MS. I wish here to express my thanks to the authorities of the New York Public Library, and especially to Dr. John D. Gordan, curator of the Berg Collection, for permission to consult and use this and other MSS quoted in this paper.

Mr. Leslie C. Staples has called my attention to the fact that in the Forster Bequest at the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a plan of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre at Stratford sent to Dickens by Cunningham. The plan of having a performance there was, however, abandoned. See *The Dickensian*, XLIV, 1948, 4, for a fuller account of this matter.

[2] Berg Collection.

When it was first published in February 1849 in two volumes by John Murray of Albemarle Street, it carried the title of *A Handbook for London Past and Present.* Subsequent editions, each one revised, had slight changes in title. The *DNB* states that the handbook is the work for which Cunningham is chiefly to be remembered; all subsequent books on London, it affirms, have been indebted to it. George Augustus Sala, journalist extraordinary in the Victoria scene and one of Peter Cunningham's best friends, also believed that Cunningham's magnum opus was his book on London.[1] The popularity of the handbook over so many years would indicate that it made a good deal of money for its publisher. But how much it made for its author we do not know. In a descriptive poem that Edmund Yates and Albert Smith wrote in 1852 in celebration of the membership of the newly organised Fielding Club, there is a line about Cunningham: "And Peter from whose handbook mines great Murray draws much wealth."[2]

According to Cunningham, in his preface to the first edition, it took him seven years of " a painful amount of minute research," particularly in the British Museum and in the Rate Book and Overseers' Books belonging to the parishes of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and St. Paul's, Covent Garden, to complete his handbook. His attempt, he wrote, was to present curious information about the great city. He avowed that he was so much in love with his subject that he intended to collect for a new and improved edition whether called for by the public or not. He urged every reader to communicate to him all the errors detected, for " the value of a work like this consists in its extreme accuracy." It is true that the book must have cost him a great amount of minute labour, for there are a tremendous number of quotations from literary sources which are applicable to the places cited. For example, under his description and history of the Seven Dials we find quotations from Evelyn, from Gay's *Trivia,* from the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus,* and from Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting.* Under York Street, Westminster, where, we are told, Milton lived at No. 19, Cunningham quoted from Philip's *Life of Milton,* scrupulously citing page and edition. There is extant one letter, hitherto unpublished, which indicates the pains which Cunningham undertook to track down a point of fact for his handbook. It is to Charles Graham and was written from the Audit Office, Somerset House, on November 24th, 1849: " I am reprinting my Handbook for London and am desirous of making it as complete as possible. I am quite at a loss about Lloyds. Can you tell me anything about Lloyd ? Who was he ? And when did he die ? When was Lloyd's Register established ? Pray excuse this trouble on an antiquarian matter."[3]

There is no way of knowing whether Cunningham's London handbook was used to any extent by Dickens. There are, however, a few references to it in Dickens's letters. And one would think that the man who " described London like a special corres-

[1] *The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala, Written by Himself* (New York, 1895), I, 367.
[2] Edmund Yates, *Edmund Yates: His Recollections and Experiences* (London, 1884), I, 239.
[3] Berg Collection.

pondent for posterity"[1] would find Cunningham's handbook useful.

It is not surprising, in any case, to find that Dickens and Cunningham were great friends for almost a decade from 1848, and that there is a long record of correspondence between the two men. Cunningham's letters to Dickens, unfortunately, were all burned by Dickens, so far as we know, but we still have the letters which Dickens sent to Cunningham. This correspondence extends mainly from 1848 to 1854, though there are a few letters written afterward.

Aside from their common interests—in London, in theatricals, in literature—Cunningham was just the type of man whom Dickens liked as a friend. Sala, a friend of both, wrote that "Peter Cunningham was a character; the heartiest, kindest, cleverest soul that you could know and love."[2] John Forster's long description of Cunningham is well known to students of Dickens, but it deserves to be reprinted. Though couched in cryptic language, it indicates Cunningham's essential weakness for drink which was to prove his ultimate downfall:

> His presence was always welcome to Dickens, and indeed to all who knew him, for his relish of social life was great, and something of his keen enjoyment could not but be shared by his company. His geniality would have carried with it a pleasurable glow even if it had stood alone, and it was invigorated by very considerable acquirements. He had some knowledge of the works of eminent authors and artists; and he had an eager interest in their lives and haunts, which he had made the subject of minute and novel inquiry. This store of knowledge gave substance to his talk, yet never interrupted his buoyancy and pleasantry, because only introduced when called for, and not made matter of parade or display. But the happy combination of qualities that rendered him a favourite companion, and won him many friends, proved in the end injurious to himself. He had done much while young in certain lines of investigation which he had made almost his own, and there was every promise that, in the department of biographical and literary research, he would have produced much weightier works with advancing years. This however was not to be. The fascinations of good fellowship encroached more and more upon literary pursuits, until he nearly abandoned his former favourite studies, and sacrificed all the deeper purposes of his life to the present temptation of a festive hour. Then his health gave way, and he became lost to friends as well as to literature. But the impression of the bright and amiable intercourse of his better time survived, and his old associates never ceased to think of Peter Cunningham with regret and kindness.]

When Cunningham brought out his first revised edition of the handbook of London in 1850, he reprinted in it Dickens's famous letter to *The Times* on public executions under the heading of

[1] Walter Bagehot, *Literary Studies* (London, New York, 1911), II, 176.
[2] *Op. cit.*, I, 366.
[3] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, edited and annotated by J. W. T. Ley (London, 1928), pp. 575-576.

" Horsemonger Lane." On May 12th, 1850, Dickens wrote to Cunningham:

> Many thanks for your valuable book in its new form, and for your enshrinement of those words about the horrible scene at Horsemonger Lane.
>
> Also, for your suggestions in reference to the Narrative. Wills is a capital fellow for his work, but decidedly of the Nutmeg-Grater, or Fancy-Bread-Rasper School you mention. The promotions and preferments shall be preserved henceforth, like flies in amber, but I am afraid we shall not have room for the documents. You can't put Lincoln's Inn Fields into a hand-basin—though you can put it, wonderfully well, into a handbook.
>
> I am delighted with the Christ's Hospital subject. And I think I see my way to a long perspective of good papers on divers subjects, if you should be inclined to walk along with it. (II, 216)

Dickens would hardly have made derogatory references about Wills to anyone with whom he was not on very friendly terms. Throughout the first half of the 1850's Cunningham appears as one of Dickens's half-dozen or so closest friends. From Dickens's letters of that period it is obvious that Cunningham was one of those of whom Dickens first thought whenever he decided to have a good time. Their business association also became closer. Cunningham was " inclined to walk along " with Dickens, as the above letter mentions, " to a long perspective of good papers on divers subjects," in *Household Words*, which had been launched in March 1850. In the " Contributors Book " of *Household Words*, fortunately, there is a complete list of Cunningham's contributions. There were thirteen articles in all, extending from 1851 to 1855, as follows: " Superstitious Murder " (October 18th, 1851), " What We Do with Our Letters " (October 23rd, 1852), "A Bowl of Punch " (June 11th, 1853), " North Country Courtesies " (October 22nd, 1853), " Last Moments of an English King " (May 6th, 1854), " The Man of Ross " (January 13th, 1855), " The Fate of a Toast " (January 20th, 1855), " Vails to Servants " (February 3rd, 1855), " Stealing a Calf's Skin " (March 10th, 1855), " Tom D'Urfrey " (March 24th, 1855), " The Muse in Livery " (April 28th, 1855), " Peter the Great in England " (October 6th, 1855), " Pope's Sir John Cutler " (December 1st, 1855).[1]

Although W. H. Wills probably kept an accurate list of contributions, there is, to this writer, the puzzling fact that Cunningham's first article to appear is listed a year and a half after Dickens's letter of May 12th, 1850. What happened, one would like to know, to the " Christ's Hospital subject " ? And why did Cunningham's articles reach a peak in 1855 (eight in one year) but end abruptly in December of that year ?

Cunningham, in his official capacity at the Audit Office, more than once helped Dickens in matters of government business, in those minor, but fatiguing, affairs which beset everyone who comes in contact with the red-tape of government. We know, from the satire of *Little Dorrit*, just how much Dickens abhorred

[1] I am grateful to Mr. Leslie C. Staples, who has direct access to a copy of the " Contributors Book," for calling my attention to and furnishing me with this list.

routine matters of that sort. Dickens's letter to Cunningham of March 18th, 1851, is a foreshadowing of that satire: "I observe, with the terror which a Public Office naturally awakens in a well-regulated mind, that the enclosed Power of attorney from Poole, appears to require (see margin) Registration at that awful establishment where you (and the Ordnance maps ?) keep the Nation's clock perpetually right to a second. Once more, will you shield me from the Eye of Office!" (II, 281).

Two days afterward, on March 20th, Dickens wrote to Cunningham again for aid, this time about a matter in which the latter's extensive knowledge of London from an archaeological standpoint could be used:

> You are the likeliest man I can think of, to help me in a theatrical difficulty.
>
> Do you know any correct print of Will's Coffee House that can be begged, borrowed, stolen, bought, sketched, or looked at ? I want such a scene for Bulwer's comedy, and want to have it correct.
>
> I have looked in the Ordnance maps, but can't find it. (II, 283)

The play to which Dickens made reference was the comedy *Not So Bad as We Seem*, which had recently been written by Bulwer Lytton. Dickens managed a company to present it in aid of the Guild of Literature and Art. The first performance was given at Devonshire House on May 16th, 1851, with the Queen and Prince Albert in attendance. The price of tickets was high—£5—probably because Dickens felt that the Guild needed to raise a considerable sum of money to carry on its work. This time Peter Cunningham took an active part as a performer, playing the rôle of Lord Le Trimmer. Among the other actors, besides Dickens, were Wilkie Collins, Augustus Egg, John Forster, R. H. Horne, Douglas Jerrold, Charles Knight, Mark Lemon, and John Tenniel. These men were all in the inner circle of Dickens's friendship for a number of years. There are, incidentally, several routine letters extant from Dickens to Cunningham in regard to the performance of the play.

The Guild of Literature and Art was an institution in which Dickens was intensely interested. On December 26th, 1851, Dickens sent Cunningham a letter which deals mainly with the Guild. Cunningham, we gather, had written a paper on Richard Savage, that eighteenth-century rogue who owes his immortality, if he has any, solely to Dr. Johnson. His paper had partly (or perhaps wholly) to do with raising a subscription for a plaque or memorial to Savage's memory to be sponsored by the Guild. Dickens made reference to three papers in his letter, but the first two were dismissed with two short sentences. The third paper was treated at length:

> 3rd. I am not at all earnest in the Savage matter; firstly, because I think so tremendous a vagabond never could have obtained an honest living in any station of existence or at any period of time; and secondly, because I think it of the highest importance that such an association as our Guild should not

appear to resent upon society the faults of individuals who were flagrantly impracticable.

At its best, it is liable to that suspicion, as all such efforts have been on the part of many jealous persons, to whom it *must* look for aid. And any step that in the least encourages it is one of a fatal kind.

I do *not* think myself, but this is merely an individual opinion, that Savage *was* a man of genius, or that anything of his writing would have attracted much notice but for the bastard's reference to his mother. For these reasons combined, I should not be inclined to add my subscription of two guineas to yours, unless the inscription were altered as I have altered it in pencil. But in that case I should be very glad to respond to your suggestion, and to snuff out all my smaller disinclinations. (II, 364-365)

Cunningham, who admired Dr. Johnson tremendously, as is evident in his edition of *Lives of the Poets* (1854), had probably expressed his agreement with the Georgian critic that Savage was a man of genius, and it was probably on that basis that he proposed a memorial to Savage. The main purpose of the Guild of Literature and Art was to provide a fund for the relief of writers and artists who needed financial assistance. Savage was probably held up by Cunningham in his paper as an outstanding example of a man of genius of the past who had been neglected by society and who might have been aided by an organisation like the Guild, if such an organisation had existed in the eighteenth century. The last paragraph in Dickens's letter would indicate that Dickens, however, was in drastic dissent from Cunningham's belief as to Savage's genius. Dickens was eminently practical (as he almost always was) in his contention that the Guild's approval of such a view would do it great harm. In light of the prevailing Victorian moral attitudes, Dickens was right and Cunningham was wrong, putting aside all considerations as to Dickens's literary judgment in the matter.

The 1850's was the period of Cunningham's greatest reputation, with the various editions of his book on London, his *Story of Nell Gwyn* in 1852, his editions of Goldsmith's works and of Johnson's *Lives* both appearing in 1854, and his collected edition of the letters of Horace Walpole in 1857. The next letter that we have from Dickens to Cunningham—on April 26th, 1852—makes reference either to a new edition of Cunningham's handbook of London or to his book on Nell Gwyn: "A thousand thanks for your curious and interesting book; which is exceedingly acceptable to me,—both for its own sake, and as a mark of your friendly remembrance. I have had the greatest pleasure both in receiving and in reading it." At that time Dickens and Cunningham were still engaged in theatricals together. In the same note Dickens mentioned that his wife, sister-in-law, Mrs. Lemon, and Mrs. Wills would be delighted to have Mrs. Cunningham join them in a journey to Birmingham together on the 11th (probably May 11th). And Dickens added: "I hope you intend to give that new reading of your part, which I took the liberty to suggest? The

more I think of it, the more I see the power of that view of the character" (II, 390).

There is an undated letter, written from Boulogne, which definitely belongs in the period between June 12th and June 28th, 1853.[1] Dickens had arrived in Boulogne on Sunday, June 12th, according to a letter written to Wills the next day, describing his "delightful passage yesterday" (II, 464). On June 28th Dickens wrote to Cunningham: "We are delighted to hear of your good intentions. As you can come any day after Sunday, *I* should say, Monday. Only let me know when, and we will be at the Custom House . . . Bring some work. I shall go at it every day until lunch, and after that period shall become a sybarite with surprising constancy. Will you ask B & E to give you my Bleak Houses N^os 17 to bring with you" (II, 471). The undated letter is, in part, as follows:

> I told Wills when I left home, that I was quite pained to see the end of your excellent "Bowl of Punch" altered. I was unaffectedly touched and gratified by the heartiness of the original; and saw no earthly, celestial, or subterranean objection to its remaining, as it did not so unmistakeably apply to me as to necessitate the observance of my usual precaution in the case of such references, by any means.
>
> . . . If you ever have a holiday that you don't know what to do with, *do* come and pass a little time here . . .
>
> I know, my dear Cunningham, that the British nation can ill afford to lose you; and that when the Audit Office mice are away, the cats of that great public establishment will play [*sic*]. But pray consider that the bow may be sometimes bent too long, and that over-arduous application, even in patriotic service, is to be avoided. No one can more highly estimate your devotion to the best interests of Britain than I. But I wish to see it tempered with a wise consideration for your own amusement, recreation, and pastime. All work and no play may make Peter a dull boy as well as Jack. And (if I may claim the privilege of friendship to remonstrate) I would say that you do not take enough time for your meals. Dinner, for instance, you habitually neglect. Believe me, this rustic repose will do you good. Winkles also are to be obtained in these parts, and it is well remarked by Poor Richard, that a bird in the handbook is worth two in the bush. (II, 492-493)

The article on "The Bowl of Punch" in *Household Words* casts a bit of light, I believe, on the meaning of Dickens's remarks in the first paragraph of the undated letter. The article was written in a light, nostalgic, somewhat pensive manner, and it discussed the derivation of the word "punch"; it concluded with an account

[1] This letter was placed by the original editors of Dickens's letters among those of September. However, Dexter later noted in his edition that it had evidently been written earlier, for it is known that Cunningham visited Dickens in July. But he placed the letter, also, among those of September, which indicated he was not sure where it should have been inserted. This letter could only have been written in the month of June 1853, and most probably shortly after Dickens arrived at Boulogne, because the article written by Cunningham, to which Dickens made reference in the first paragraph, was published in *Household Words* on June 11th, just a day before Dickens left England. It is quite evident that Dickens's communication of June 28th was in answer to one of Cunningham's signifying his intention to come to Boulogne, which in turn came as a result of the pleading tone of the undated letter.

of some famous punch-drinkers of the past, particularly of various writers who had loved the drink: Johnson, Burns, Otway, Campbell. It appears unmistakable that Cunningham had made some oblique reference to Dickens as a lover and drinker of punch also but that this was altered by Wills. It seems strange that Wills would be more zealous in Dickens's behalf than the novelist was himself; certainly a reference to a love for punch, which might have been taken by the readers of the periodical as applying to the editor, could not be considered as objectionable. If Dickens was, as he wrote to Cunningham, " pained " to see the alteration, why then, we might ask, did he not countermand Wills's handiwork ?

Peter Cunningham definitely visited Dickens at Boulogne on July 4th, 1853, for on July 3rd Dickens wrote the following to Mark Lemon:

> Peter is coming here to-morrow, on a visit. I have ordered toast and water to be prepared for him. My landlord M. Beaucourt-Mutuel —whose whole soul is in this place and has really done wonders with it, besides ruining himself to begin with—observed me this morning, putting writing materials in a bedroom in a pavilion in the garden, destined for Peter. " For a friend, M. Beaucourt," said I, " who is coming to see us to-morrow." M. Beaucourt immediately pulled off his grey cap with one hand, laid his other hand upon his heart, and replied " I am glad of it. Eh my God ! He will see the Property." (He never mentions the place by any other name on any account.) (II, 473-474)

Three letters in 1854 indicate that Cunningham's relationship with Dickens was still on a very friendly basis, but yet all three, perhaps, show evidence of something of a strain between the two writers. On February 7th Dickens wrote to Cunningham: " I know you *must* be going out to dinner somewhere today, but be false to somebody and dine with me at 5, at a hurried little spread of half a dozen, at Waite's Hotel, Gravesend. It's my birthday. I am going down by Blackwall train at 12, then by boat—for a walk's sake. There is a North Kent line train at 2, and another at 3.40 " (II, 541). From this note one would get the impression that the party was hurriedly called together at the last minute; so Cunningham must have thought. The letter was probably sent by messenger, for there was not time to send it through the regular postal service. But five days earlier, on February 2nd, Dickens had invited Thomas Beard, and on February 5th he wrote again to Beard and also to Clarkson Stanfield telling them the train schedules and the plans for his birthday. It is possible that Cunningham was a last-minute replacement for someone who had withdrawn. Exactly a year later we see that Cunningham was invited to another birthday party (II, 539-540, 622).

Busy as Peter Cunningham was during the late 1840's and much of the 1850's, he still had time to write a column called " Town and Table Talk on Literature and Art " which appeared at frequent intervals in the *Illustrated London News*. An item in this column for March 4th, 1854 (XXIV, 194), brought an angry rebuke from Dickens. Cunningham had written: " The title of Mr. Dickens's

new work is 'Hard Times.' His recent inquiry into the Preston strike is said to have originated the title, and in some respects, suggested the turn of the story." On March 11th Dickens sent to Cunningham the following letter:

> Being down at Dover yesterday, I happened to see the Illustrated London News lying on the table, and there read a reference to my new book which I believe I am not mistaken in supposing to have been written by you.
>
> I don't know where you may have found your information, but I can assure you that it is altogether wrong. The title was many weeks old, and chapters of the story were written, before I went to Preston or thought about the general strike.
>
> The mischief of such a statement is twofold. First, it encourages the public to believe in the impossibility that books are produced in that very sudden and cavalier manner . . . and secondly in this instance it has this bearing: it localizes (so far as your readers are concerned) a story which has a direct purpose in reference to the working people all over England, and it will cause, as I know by former experience, characters to be fitted on to individuals whom I never saw or heard of in my life.
>
> I do not suppose that you can do anything to set this misstatement right, being made; nor do I wish you to set it right. But if you will, at any future time, ask me what the fact is before you state it, I will tell you, as frankly and readily as it is possible for one friend to tell another, what the truth is and what it is not. (II, 545-546)

Was Dickens's statement that the title was many weeks old and chapters of *Hard Times* written before he went to Preston altogether correct? Let us look at some of the facts in the case. John Forster, Dickens's closest literary confidant, tells us that the book was planned and begun in the winter of 1853, amid the busy preparation of Christmas theatricals for Dickens's children.[1] Dickens was in Italy for some weeks during the autumn, and as late as December 5th he wrote letters from Turin to Forster and to his wife. We know that he was home by December 14th for on that date he sent a note from Tavistock House to Mrs. W. H. Wills (II, 523-525). If he started work on the Christmas theatricals, which Forster mentions, it could not have been before the middle of December. On Christmas Eve he wrote a letter to Mark Lemon telling about a rehearsal for the theatricals; Dexter tells us that these home theatricals were to be presented on Twelfth Night, which is January 6th (II, 527). The chances are very great, therefore, that the idea for *Hard Times* came to Dickens sometime between Christmas and Twelfth Night. This was, let us note, during the period when the strike at Preston was attracting a great deal of attention throughout England; during January, moreover, the leading journals were carrying articles on the labour disturbance. Dickens decided to go to Preston to see for himself what the long strike of the cotton-mill workers was all about; on January 29th, 1854, he communicated his notions about

[1] Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, p. 559.

the strike to Forster from Preston itself (II, 538-539). The result of his short trip, which took only a few days, was the article " On Strike " which appeared in *Household Words* for February 11th.

Now Dickens's letters during the period of writing the novel attest to the extreme difficulty he had in fashioning the story. *Hard Times* began to appear in the issue of April 1st of his periodical and did not conclude until August 12th. Dickens wrote to Wills on April 18th: " I am in a dreary state, planning and planning the story of Hard Times (out of materials for I don't know how long a story), and consequently writing little." He continued that he was working so hard on the book he was afraid that he couldn't spare even a few hours to see Wills. And he added: " Moreover I am greatly anxious to keep ahead " (II, 551-552). When he was near the end of the book, on July 14th, he wrote to Forster from Boulogne: " I am three parts mad, and the fourth delirious, with perpetual rushing at Hard Times " (II, 567). It seems obvious from all this that not more than a very few chapters, if any, were written by Dickens before he visited Preston. And in view of his communications to Wills and Forster it seems probable that he managed to keep only a chapter or two in advance of the publication dates in *Household Words*.

As to the title which Dickens claimed was many weeks old before he ever went to Preston, there is a letter written on January 20th to John Forster. In this Dickens enclosed a list of titles and asked Forster to help him choose one for the " Household Words story." Among these titles was *Hard Times* (II, 537). Again we see that the information which Dickens offered to Cunningham was anything but accurate. It is not my purpose here to examine into Dickens's motives for rebuking Cunningham; certainly the third paragraph of his letter of March 11th suggests two clear reasons, whether valid or not. Cunningham may have been wrong in the statement in his column, but why did Dickens feel it necessary to add deception to his own statement of reproof ? The answer, of course, is hidden at present because we do not possess enough information about the relationship between the two men at that period in their lives.

In 1854 Cunningham's edition of Goldsmith was published. The next extant letter from Dickens, that of June 7th, 1854, indicates his admiration of the edition: " The Goldsmiths [*sic*], admirably done throughout. It is a book I have long desired to see done, and never expected to see half so well done. Many thanks to you for it." But in the same note Dickens refused to become one of a committee to erect a statue to the memory of John Wilson, the " Christopher North " of *Noctes Ambrosianae*, who had died recently. Cunningham must have had rare qualities as organiser, manager, and fund collector, for he seems to have been selected for those rôles on many different occasions over a long period of years. But, as in the case of Savage earlier, Dickens had a very definite reason for not subscribing wholeheartedly to the project which Cunningham was promoting: " I cannot become one of the committee for Wilson's statue, after entertaining so strong an opinion against the expediency of such a memorial in poor dear Talfourd's case. But I will subscribe my three guineas,

and will pay that sum to the account at Coutts' when I go there next week, before leaving town " (II, 561).

The committee for the Wilson statue, when finally chosen, was a prominent one, but without the name of the leading novelist of the day. Ten days after the writing of the above letter, in Cunningham's column in the *Illustrated London News* (June 17th, 1854, XXIV, 573), appeared this announcement: "A London Committee has just been formed in aid of the Edinburgh statue of Professor Wilson. The Committee consists of the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Haddington, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Stirling, M.P., Mr. Murray (of Albemarle-street), Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Peter Cunningham, and others. The Duke of Buccleuch has subscribed £25. Subscriptions are received by Messrs. Coutts and Co., and by Mr. Cunningham, the honorary secretary."

In September of 1855 Dickens went to Folkestone for a vacation. Whether by pre-arrangement or by coincidence, Cunningham went to the same town shortly after Dickens. On September 11th the latter wrote to Wills: " Peter Cunningham has been staying at the Pavilion (and dining here) since Friday. He went up by Maidstone and Rochester yesterday, and we walked over Blue Bell Hill with him. At Paddock Wood we found that his own particular Audit Office messenger had been cut to pieces by a locomotive on Friday night " (II, 688).

While in Folkestone Cunningham gave Dickens an article for *Household Words*. Curiously for Dickens (who usually read and approved most material submitted to his magazine), he sent the article on to Wills with little comment in his letter of September 16th, 1855: "Among the list of matter in hand, you will find Peter the Great, by Peter of the Audit Office. He says there are some ' new and curious facts ' in it. I have not read it, but sent it straight to Arry " (II, 688). Cunningham's article, to which Dickens refers, was published early the next month.

During the following month, on October 11th, a dinner was given in honour of William Makepeace Thackeray. Peter Cunningham was the secretary in charge of all arrangements, and Dickens presided as toastmaster. Edmund Yates related that it was through the kindness of Cunningham that he managed to be present (for there were only places for sixty guests), and that Dickens spoke with great eloquence.[1] The only communication from Dickens to Cunningham that we have pertaining to the affair is one sent on October 11th enclosing a request for a place at the dinner written from Paris by Albert Smith to Dickens.

In 1856 there are two short letters to Cunningham from Dickens, indicating a continuance of their friendship. The first is dated February 5th, a few days before Dickens's birthday:

> I return the curious book, with many thanks.
>
> Come and dine *here* next Thursday, my birthday, at half past five sharp, or expect the Vengeance of—Yours Ever. (II, 739)

What the " curious book " is that Dickens refers to we do not know; once before Dickens had thanked Cunningham for a " curious " book, which I surmised was either Cunningham's book

[1] Yates, *op. cit.*, I, 281.

on Nell Gwyn or a new edition of his handbook of London. In this case, it is reasonable to believe that if it were an edition of one of his own books Cunningham would have given his friend a copy. The fact that Dickens was returning it to him indicates that it was a rare or very valuable book of some sort.

On June 6th of the same year Dickens addressed a short note to Cunningham. Again the tone is friendly; since Cunningham probably visited the novelist at Boulogne again, there is no reason to suspect any relationship between the two except a harmonious one:

> A most admirable Narrative indeed!—With your leave I will take the other book to Boulogne, and give it you back there. (II, 778)

It was two and a half years later, however, before we find another letter being written by Dickens to his young colleague. Surely Dickens who wrote prolifically to his friends must have written to Cunningham during that long stretch, but the fact that we haven't any communication would indicate that, perhaps, their relationship was becoming rather strained. The missive of February 11th, 1859, seems to be most cordial on the surface, but there is evident in Dickens a deep feeling of annoyance with Cunningham as an aftermath of the Garrick Club affair of the previous year. Perhaps, also, Cunningham's erratic qualities were then becoming disturbing to the novelist.

> I thank you very much for the concluding Walpole volume, and I cordially congratulate you on the completion of your task. When my Library Edition of my books is complete, I shall ask you to find room for it on your shelves. I am only waiting for that.[1]
>
> Let me take this opportunity of saying to you in good humour, that I wish you had not inconsiderately repeated any monomaniacal nonsense about me, and had not lent yourself to such preposterous statements as that I pay Mr. Yates's costs against the Garrick club, or have some wonderful machinations of my own to further in having openly resisted what I believe to be a wrong proceeding. I am sure you know in your heart that what I do, I do in no secrecy, and that I abhor meanness. What did you ever see in your Manager that could lead you to suppose it possible there was one word of truth in all this pestilent childishness? (III, 93)

Some time in 1860 Cunningham was retired from the Audit Office, and he went to St. Albans to spend the remainder of his days. He gave up most of his writing, at least for publication, so far as we know. He was finished as a writer at the age of forty-four. Forster and Sala have given short accounts of the reasons for his retirement, but it remained for Ernest Law, in 1911, to explore more deeply into the tragic last phase of Cunningham's life, culminating in his blundering attempt in 1868 to sell to the British Museum the original Account Books of the Revels Office,

[1]Dickens was as good as his word. On November 10th, 1859, he wrote to Frederic Chapman to send complete sets of the Library Edition of his works to W. P. Frith, the painter, and to Peter Cunningham. See Dexter, III, 134.

which, strangely, he had been allowed to keep in his possession ever since he found them. (It was then that charges were made that some of the original documents were forgeries; until Law revived the case and denied the charge Peter Cunningham's name had become relegated to the same level as that of the notorious forger John Payne Collier. It was charged that Cunningham had forged the writing of the keeper of the Account Books and had inserted some important dates, names of Shakespeare's plays, and other material within the original writing in order to increase the value of his findings. Despite Law's efforts the case is probably far from closed.) Law stated, taking his cue mainly from Forster, that Cunningham had given way to drink and had seriously impaired his mental powers; this failing, Law asserted, was probably the cause of his early retirement.[1]

It is significant and not at all surprising, in light of all this, to note that the next letter from Dickens to Cunningham was sent over four and a half years after Dickens had reproached the latter about the Garrick Club matter. This time he wrote from Gad's Hill Place on December 5th, 1863. The whole tone of the document, reproduced here in part, exudes nostalgia and regret for the past:

> My dear Peter,—I am delighted to get the hearty letter of my old Wills-Coffee-House friend, Le Trimmer; and again the shade of poor dear Middlesex crosses me, saying "Here's Peter. *W'on't* come on, you know!" Then, in a ghostly manner, raps gold snuff-box, and fades into the other world.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> God bless us all, this coming Christmas, and give us Christmas thoughts! of which your letter is full, and so most welcome. My love to your good wife and to you.—Ever faithfully (albeit once managerially)—Your noble friend—Wilmot. (III, 372)

The last letter from Dickens was written on February 15th, 1865, also from Gad's Hill Place. It probably was penned in answer to a letter from Cunningham telling Dickens of his liking for *Our Mutual Friend*, which was then running in monthly numbers: "Many thanks for your kind letter . . . My work has been so prolonged today that I write in the dark, and must send this over to Rochester through the snow. Mary and Georgina send love to Mrs. Cunningham and to you. I hope you will not like Our Mutual Friend worse, when you know him better.—Ever your faithful manager" (III, 415).

Peter Cunningham's health was probably very poor in 1868 when he tried to sell the documents which had long been in his possession. The attacks on his character during that year and the early part of the next undoubtedly served to undermine what health was left to him: he died on May 21st, 1869. On that same date Shirley Brooks, who had succeeded Mark Lemon as editor of *Punch*, recorded in his diary: "P—— C—— is dead, 53. He wronged me in a money matter, but it was in his desperate flounders, and I have very long since forgiven that, and regretted that he would never write to me, thick as we had been, from the

[1] *Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries* (London, 1911), p. 22.

hour the lawyers wrote to me. I have many pleasant memories of him. Never was a case in which a man flung away good cards so very madly, and all because of drink. If there is anything to be done for —— his wife I will be in it." The biographer of Brooks comments on this passage: "And he was as good as his word. The dead man was a writer of some eminence and Shirley got up a memorial to Gladstone. This resulted in enough being granted out of the Literary Pensions Fund to pay the widow's debts. It was the sort of 'revenge' that Shirley enjoyed."[1]

Among those to whom Brooks naturally turned for support of his project in behalf of Cunningham's widow was Charles Dickens. On July 12th, 1869, the novelist sent the following statement to Brooks: "I have appended my sign manual to the memorial, which I think is very discreetly drawn up. I have a strong feeling of sympathy with poor Mrs. Cunningham, for I remember the pretty house she managed charmingly. She has always done her duty well, and has had hard trials. But I greatly doubt the success of the memorial, I am sorry to add." (II, 730)

There was not a word in this nor in any other letter of the period written by Dickens to anyone, so far as I can discover, to indicate Dickens's personal feelings with regard to Cunningham himself. Dickens's reticence in 1869 is understandable; one had to be cautious in view of the black cloud under which the dead man's name lay. That is probably why Dickens commended Brooks for the manner in which the memorial was "discreetly drawn up" and why he doubted the success of the memorial. Forster's public comment on Cunningham a few years later seems, in contrast, excessively generous and may have been, one suspects, as was so much in his biography of Dickens, merely an expression of his own opinions rather than of the great novelist.

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Lawrence, Kansas.

[1] George Somes Layard, *A Great "Punch" Editor: Being the Life, Letters and Diaries of Shirley Brooks* (London, 1907), p. 354.

RECENT DICKENSIANA

"Mrs. Gamp." A facsimile of Dickens's prompt copy. $6. New York Public Library.

"Gogol and Dickens." By Michael H. Futrell. *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review,* June 1956.

"Mill and Gradgrind." By K. J. Fielding, Nineteenth Century Fiction, September 1956.

OLFACTORY GLEANINGS

By Stephen Rigby

IN *The Uncommercial Traveller*, it is generally assumed, Dickens spoke in his own person and in that book he tells us his sense of smell is not particularly delicate. That being so, we can only conclude that his fondness for describing smells was just one element in his whimsicality, for a man must be a very wide reader, if he can recall another author equally olfactory.

Anybody must notice the smell of fresh hops which hopping tramps "suppose to be a sovereign remedy" for the sick; anybody might remember the smell of damp straw for life if he had been "packed in it—like game—and forwarded, carriage paid, to the Cross Keys, Cheapside"; anybody might find that when "the air was filled with the scent of trodden grass" it opened the perspective of the years; but few would attempt to identify such a complication of smells as Dickens identifies. "I counted two and seventy stenches, all well-defined, and several stinks," says Coleridge. Not even Dickens can well define seventy stenches, and it is fortunate his identifications are largely smells and not stinks, otherwise they would constitute "the rankest compound of villainous smell that ever offended nostril."

One can adopt some sort of classification in the matter.

Cheese. "The shops emit a peculiar fragrance like the smell of very bad cheese kept in very hot blankets."

"They smell of bed, and have no possession but bed: unless it be (which I rather infer from an undercurrent of flavour in them) cheese."

Umbrellas. "Mr. Pecksniff found himself collared by something which smelt like several damp umbrellas, a barrel of beer, a cask of warm brandy and water and a small parlour full of stale tobacco smoke."

"But . . . the true Mrs. Sweeny—in figure, colour, texture, and smell, like the old damp family umbrella . . . is beyond the reach of individual art."

Bellows. "A hackney-coach—an institution, the peculiar smell of which I am ready to swear to as a combination of stable, dog with the mange, and very old bellows."

"Mr. Wegg inhales a warm and comfortable smell which is not the smell of the shop, for that is musty, leathery, feathery, cellary, gluey, gummy, and, as it might be, strong of old pairs of bellows."

Soup. "Our respective beds smelt as if they had been steeped for ages in a solution of soup and stables."

When Pip takes Estella to Richmond there is in the inn-room "such a strong combination in the air of stable with soup-stock, that might lead one to infer that the coaching department was not doing well, and that the enterprising proprietor was boiling down the horses for the refreshment department."

Corduroys. "There is a strong unwholesome smell upon the room like mildewed corduroys, sweet apples wanting air, and rotten books."

" Mr. Pumblechook wore corduroys and so did his shopman; and somehow there was a general air and flavour about the seeds, so much in the nature of corduroys, and a general air and flavour about the corduroys, so much in the nature of seeds, that Pip hardly knew which was which."

Rot. At Barnard's Inn Pip finds that " dry rot and wet rot and all the silent rots that rot in neglected roof and cellar – rot of rot and mouse and bug and coaching-stables near at hand " – addressed themselves faintly to his sense of smell, and moaned ' try Barnard's Mixture ! ' " (Faintly !)

" Rot and mildew and dead citizens formed the uppermost scent, while, infused into it in a dreamy way not at all unpleasant, was the staple character of the neighbourhood. In the churches about Mark Lane, for example, there was a dry whiff of wheat; and I accidentally struck an airy sample of barley out of an aged hassock in one of them. From Rood-Lane to Tower Street, and thereabouts, there was often a subtle flavour of wine; sometimes of tea. One near Mincing Lane smelt like a druggist's drawer. Behind the Monument, the service had a flavour of damaged oranges, which, a little further down towards the river, tempered into herrings, and gradually toned into a cosmopolitan blast of fish. In one church . . . there was no speciality of atmosphere, until the organ shook a perfume of hides all over us from some adjacent warehouse."

It will be noted that the attempted classification is not so nice but what the categories sometimes overlap. Before we come to one great class let the following examples serve as miscellaneous.

" The chariot smelt like a stable put under a cucumber frame." Pip found that the prisoners brought with them " the curious flavour of bread-poultice, baize, rope-yarn, and hearthstone, which attends the convict presence." (Bread-poultice !) In Mr. Dombey's dressing room " the smell of hot-pressed paper, vellum morocco and Russia leather, contended with a smell of divers pairs of boots."

Arthur Clennam goes to 24 Mews St., and the footman seems, by opening the door, to take the stopper out of a bottle of " strong distillation of mews ", and at the inner hall-door another vial of " concentrated provisions and extract of sink from the pantry " is uncorked.

Peggotty's beef-steak pie was flavoured by a " miscellaneous taste of tea, coffee, butter, bacon, cheese, new loaves, firewood, candles and walnut-ketchup, continually ascending from the shop." If the " taste " ascended from the shop, it is clear that it was a case of smell blending with taste.

At the entry of Mr. Crummles' theatre there was " a smell of orange-peel and lamp oil, with an under-current of sawdust." Also Nicholas prefers the cool air out of doors to the " mixed perfume of gas, orange-peel, and gunpowder which pervaded the hot and glaring theatre."

Pip's two one-pound notes " seemed to have been on terms of the warmest intimacy with all the cattle-markets in the country."

In Mr. Vholes' chambers " a smell as of unwholesome sheep, blending with the smell of dust and must, is referable to the nightly (and often daily) consumption of mutton fat in candles, and to the fretting of parchment forms and skins in greasy drawers."

" Foul and filthy " as Nemo's room is, " foul and filthy as the air is, it is not easy to perceive what fumes there are which most oppress the senses in it; but through the general sickliness and faintness, and the odour of stale tobacco, there comes into the lawyer's mouth the bitter, rapid taste of opium."

It was remarked that the classes overlap. One class overlaps so many others as to be present in nearly all —the smell of stables and horses. It is no wonder that Dickens should have been sensitive to these, for the fierce energy of his whole life might be symbolised by those wild drives through the night in his days as a shorthand reporter, and in the exhilarating gallops with Forster and Ainsworth over Hampstead Heath -to many of which he invited them with that sudden, irresponsible and whimsical gaiety of his, expecting them to " down tools " and fly, because a glorious day mocked him stodgily writing indoors. As no man has spoken with greater longing and deeper insight of the lost days of youth, so must he have thought of those days in the saddle.

It is of no particular importance whether Dickens had an acute sense of smell, but perhaps these olfactory gleanings may be fairly described as one of the curiosities of literature.

EMLYN WILLIAMS AS CHARLES DICKENS

Dickensians the world over, including both those who have been fortunate enough to see and hear Emlyn Williams's brilliant performances as Dickens at the reading desk, and those who have not, owe a debt to the Decca company for the most welcome issue of two long-playing discs,[1] containing the complete programme which Mr. Williams first presented in London, and also at the Dickens Fellowship's Royal Matinee at Drury Lane. They may now hear this memorable programme, at will, in their own homes. The recording is fully up to Decca's high standard, and complete justice is done to Emlyn Williams's genius, from the satire of the Veneerings to the pathos of Paul Dombey, from the humour of Bob Sawyer to the macabre of *The Signalman*, from the grotesquerie of Mr. Chops to the tragedy of *A Tale of Two Cities*. It would be foolish to pretend that one loses nothing by not having Mr. Williams's expressive facial play, and gestures, which are so rewarding to watch in the theatre. But the difficulty is as successfully overcome as possible, by an introduction spoken as if by Dickens. No Dickensian possessing a machine capable of playing L-P records, will want to be without these in his collection.

L. C. S.

[1] LXT 5295/6.

NEW LIGHT ON THE OLD TIPPER: A BEVERAGE REPORT

By W. J. Piper

THOUGH the contents of Mrs. Gamp's bottle on the chimney-piece may be "wropt in mystery", that redoubtable lady's choice of a "night-cap" while professionally employed is made quite clear.

"If they draws the Brighton Old Tipper here, I takes *that* ale at night, my love; it bein' considered wakeful by the doctors."

In his Notes on *Martin Chuzzlewit* the late T. W. Hill pointed out that this favourite drink of Mrs. Gamp's owed its name to its inventor Thomas Tipper of Brighton, who achieved no small fame thereby. Said to be brewed with sea-water, it was a popular beverage at the Royal Pavilion for many years. Indeed, a writer on Sussex as late as 1912 stated "it is still to be had at Newhaven, where it is known as Tipper Ale."

The Dickensian with half an hour to spare might do worse than visit the old churchyard at St. Michael's, Newhaven, where he will find, on a somewhat ornate gravestone, the following tribute to Mr. Tipper and his product:

To the Memory of Thomas Tipper who
departed this life May ye 14th
1785. Aged 54 years.

"Reader with kind regard this grave survey,
Nor heedless pass where Tipper's ashes lay.
Honest he was, ingenuous, blunt, and kind;
And dared do, what few dare do, speak his mind.

Philosophy and History well he knew,
Was versed in Physick and in Surgery too.
The best Old Stingo he both brewed and sold,
Nor did one knavish trick to get his gold.

He played through life a varied comic part,
And knew immortal Hudibras by heart.
Reader, in truth such was the Man;
Be better, worse, and laugh more if you can."

DICKENS'S INFLUENCE ON DUTCH LITERATURE

By Ian F. Finlay

THE affairs of the Netherlands and England have often overlapped during the past three hundred years or so, and both countries owe much to one another, particularly in the fields of painting and literature.

Influences in the field of literature have experienced many outstanding phases, including the possible influence exerted by Joost van den Vondel's play *Lucifer* (1654) on Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1658 64); the founding of *De Hollandsche Spectator* by Justus van Effen in 1731 which was modelled on Addison's and Steele's work; the entry of the middle-class into the Dutch novel in the works of Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, who were greatly influenced by Samuel Richardson and who likewise wrote their best-known work *Sara Burgerhart* (1782) in letter-form; the influence of the historical novels of Walter Scott on such writers as van Lennep, Bosboom-Toussaint and Oltmans; and finally the influence of Byron and Shelley on the group of writers who flourished in Holland in the 1880's, e.g. Kloos, Verwey and van Eeden, and known as "de Tachtigers". The lack of Dutch influence on our own literature is, unfortunately, partly due to the fact that so few Dutch works have been translated into English, whereas virtually all the English "classics" are known in Holland in the form of translations.

In the present article, I intend to discuss some of the works in nineteenth century Dutch literature which owed their birth directly or indirectly, to the writings of Charles Dickens who, of all our great novelists, has not only kept his place of honour and popularity in his own country, but has also become a favourite in most other countries of the world through the medium of translations and motion pictures.

Dickens's direct influence on Dutch literature was almost entirely by way of his two earliest works, the collected *Sketches by Boz* which appeared in 1836, and *Pickwick Papers* which appeared in monthly parts from 1837 to 1839, having originally been intended, on a much smaller scale, as the letterpress for a series of sporting plates to be done by Robert Seymour, who was succeeded on his death by Hablot Browne (Phiz), who became the illustrator of most of Dickens's novels.

Very reminiscent of and definitely influenced by the *Sketches* was Nicolaas Beets's (1814–1903) *Camera Obscura*, which first appeared in 1839 and in its present version in 1854. Beets, in common with so many Dutch authors of the nineteenth century (e.g. J. ten Kate, C. Busken Huet and P. de Génestet), had studied theology and, for a large part of his long life, he held religious posts in Heemstede and Utrecht.

Beets had begun his literary activity as a Romantic, but had soon shed such leanings, which he later referred to as "the black period," to devote himself to "unromantic" reality or, what

Potgieter, an important nineteenth century Dutch literary critic, called the " kopijerlust van het dagelijkschen levens " (delight in copying everyday life). Apart from Dickens, Beets and his colleagues were also influenced by Leigh Hunt and Charles Lamb in England, Jean Paul in Germany and Balzac (la comédie humaine !) in France.

The *Camera Obscura* which is prefaced by the following quotation from Horace " Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum " (one is not ashamed of having played, but of not having ceased playing), consists of a number of short sketches dealing with popular Dutch middle-class types, partly written in the appropriate regional dialect (e.g. Marken fisherman, Girl from North Brabant, Coachman), together with certain longer stories (De Familie Stastok, Een Oude Kennis (An Old Acquaintance), De Familie Kegge and Gerrit Witse). These stories have very much the " homely " tone of Dickens's works of the same type, being characterised by humour, depiction of middle- and lower-class life and, we must admit it, a goodly dose of sentimentality. The sketches are, in certain respects, a projection into literature of the genre paintings of such seventeenth century Dutch artists as Steen, Metsu and Ostade, their eighteenth century English counterpart Hogarth, and Daumier in nineteenth century France. As with Dickens, Beets has created for us certain " types " which are still referred to to-day and which conjure up better than any description the traits of the people to whom they are applied, e.g. the "Diakenhuismannetje" (beadsman) in "De Familie Stastok" Robertus Nurks (the unpleasant person in the wood at Haarlem, in the story of the same name) and " de heer van der Hoogen " (the bombastic character in " De Familie Kegge ").

The *Camera* is the most popular work in the whole of Dutch literature, despite the fact that it is now somewhat " dated ". The 25th edition appeared in 1909, the 30th in 1919, and the 42nd in 1942. The work has been translated into most European languages and I have, *inter alia*, a Norwegian translation of " De Familie Kegge " which appeared in 1924. Unfortunately, there has been no complete translation into English, although sections of the work appeared in translation in *Frazer's Magazine* and *Chambers's Magazine* in the 1850's.

Very reminiscent of Dickens's *Sketches* are also many of the writings of Justus van Maurik (1846-1904) which give us a good picture of middle- and lower-class life in Amsterdam sixty years ago, much as Dickens did for the London of a hundred years ago or so, and Henry Mayhew in the 1850's.

Several of Beets's fellow-students at Leiden also wrote works along the same lines as the *Camera*, and strangely enough they were also almost entirely " one book " authors writing under pseudonyms. The most important were Johannes Kneppelhout (1814–85) whose *Studententypen* appeared in 1839–41 under the pseudonym " Klikspaan " and J. P. Hasebroek (1812–96) whose *Waarheid en Droomen* (Truth and Dreams) appeared in 1840 under the pseudonym " Jonathan ". In a similar vein are also the *Schetsen uit de Pastorie te Mastland* (1843) by C. E. van Koesveld (1807–73).

In 1840 there appeared, under the pseudonym "Vlerk", Bernard Gewin's (1812–73) *Reisontmoetingen van Joachim Polsbroekerwoud en zjin vrienden* (Travelling Experiences of Joachim Polsbroekerwoud and his Friends), a rather perfunctory imitation of *Pickwick Papers*. Its chapters have headings such as "A chapter in which the inquisitive reader, wishing to know how travellers go *via* Frankfurt to the watering-places, is very disappointed; and which is moreover very suitable to be omitted by those who do not wish to make the acquaintance of Frankfurt families." The work was the result of a long journey begun by the author in 1837 and ending, like that of the hero Polsbroekerwoud, in Milan. Like Pickwick, the hero has four companions—the quibbling wag Jan Veervlug, the sentimentalist August Holstaff, the coquettish Eduard van Torteltak and the peevish Dionysius den Morder. These friends have a few adventures of slight importance which are quite well described, and they encounter hyper-romantic love affairs and a sentimental death. The book was reprinted in 1902.

In case it should be thought that Dickens's works are a thing of the past in present-day Holland, I should like to end by mentioning a completely new post-war translation of his works (with the original illustrations) in 34 parts (supplemented by John Forster's biography) in a paper-back edition selling at less than half a crown a volume.

DICKENS'S KNOWLEDGE OF THACKERAY'S WRITINGS

By Harry Stone

IN a recent article in *PMLA* entitled "Dickens *versus* Thackeray: the Garrick Club Affair" (September 1954), Professor Gordon N. Ray presented his version of Dickens's share in a famous Victorian clash of personalities and principles. Professor Ray's reassessment of the Garrick Club dispute, highly sympathetic toward Thackeray and condemnatory toward Dickens, did not go unchallenged. Dr. K. J. Fielding pointed out in *The Dickensian* (December 1955) some of the weaknesses and inadequacies in Professor Ray's sources and methods. And more recently, in America (*PMLA*, March 1956), Professor Edgar Johnson challenged Professor Ray's assumptions and conclusions. In his rejoinder to Professor Johnson's criticisms (also *PMLA*, March 1956), Professor Ray states as further evidence of the soundness of his assessment of the Dickens-Thackeray relationship that "Dickens's references to Thackeray's work are infrequent and perfunctory" (p. 262). He goes on to document and elaborate this assertion by quoting from an article which appeared in the March 1939 issue of *The Dickensian*. "Here," writes Professor Ray, quoting the article in question, "is the summary of Charles Riddell Williams, whose 'The Personal Relations of Dickens and

Thackeray ' is the only extended survey of this subject which has been published: ' There is no doubt about it. Thackeray knew, enjoyed and greatly admired Dickens's work . . . On the other hand, there is really no evidence that Dickens read any of Thackeray's books at all . . . I think we must take it Dickens was really rather insensible to Thackeray's genius, whereas Thackeray recognised and delighted in Dickens's '."[1] As Professor Ray indicates, Mr. Williams's article is the only published survey of the subject. Consequently, scholars are wholly dependent upon the thoroughness of the article and the accuracy of its conclusions. I think a reassessment of the facts in this matter is needed. I think that such a reassessment will show that there *is* evidence that Dickens read Thackeray's books, and that Dickens was *not* insensible to Thackeray's genius. Since Mr. Williams's conclusions have been cited as authoritative, since they appeared originally in *The Dickensian*, and since the subject is both important and interesting, it will be worthwhile to re-examine Dickens's knowledge of Thackeray's writing and correct the record if it needs correction.

Dickens's library contained six of Thackeray's works—*Christmas Books, Pendennis, Samuel Titmarsh and the Great Hoggarty Diamond, Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (four volumes), *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (two copies), and *Vanity Fair*.[2] But, of course, Dickens's knowledge of Thackeray's writings was not limited to these library volumes. As a matter of fact, in at least one instance, the two authors, together with George Cruikshank, published a composite work, *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman* (1839)—Thackeray doing the humorous poem, Cruikshank the accompanying illustrations, and Dickens the satirical notes. It is not surprising, then, to find Dickens mentioning other works by Thackeray in subsequent letters and articles. For instance, Dickens refers to Thackeray's Titmarsh pen name, and alludes to such works as his *Book of Snobs* and *The Virginians*.[3] On other occasions Dickens let Thackeray know how much he had enjoyed a particular poem; or how much he appreciated Thackeray's lecture references to himself.[4] At times Dickens took sharp exception to articles by Thackeray (*NL*, II, 693), or disagreed with statements which he remembered Thackeray had made in his earlier writings. " Thackeray," he wrote from Naples in 1845, " praises the people of Italy for being kind to brutes. There is probably no country in the world where they are treated with such frightful cruelty. It is universal " (*NL*, I, 658).

Dickens felt that Thackeray at times " made a pretence of undervaluing his art, which was not good for the art that he held in trust " (*W*, XXXIV, 454). In particular he disliked Thackeray's

[1] P. 262 n. The ellipses are Professor Ray's.

[2] J. H. Stonehouse, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Charles Dickens* . . . (London, 1935), p. 110. It should not be taken as certain that these were the only volumes by Thackeray that Dickens owned. Many books which Dickens at one time or another owned and read (as his letters demonstrate) do not appear in the sale catalogue of his library.

[3] *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Walter Dexter, The Nonesuch Dickens (Bloomsbury, 1938), I, 564 cited hereafter as *NL*; *NL*, I, 804; " Curious Misprint in the *Edinburgh Review*," *The Works of Charles Dickens*, National Edition (London, 1906-1908), XXXVI, 147—cited hereafter as *W*; *NL*, III, 32.

[4] George Dolby, *Charles Dickens as I Knew Him* (London, n.d.), p. 454; *NL*, II, 645.

parodies in *Mr. Punch's Prize Novelists*—a series from which Thackeray wisely decided to exclude Dickens. "In reference to his [Thackeray's] Imitations in Punch," Dickens write Forster, ". . . I had a strong opinion of my own: and . . . it was that they [the parodies] did no honour to literature or literary men, and should be left to very inferior and miserable hands: which I desired Thackeray to know" (*NL*, II, 29). However, in later years, Dickens took note of Thackeray's "own petition for forgiveness" for the harm he had done, and quoted with approval his remorseful lines:

> I've writ the foolish fancy of his brain;
> The aimless jest that, striking, hath caused pain;
> The idle word that he'd wish back again.
>
> (*W*, XXXIV, 455)

He also quoted other lines from Thackeray—lines which he admired, which he remembered and found moving. For example, he set down for his readers the words which Thackeray had written after being caught in a "white squall":

> And when, its force expended,
> The harmless storm was ended,
> And, as the sunrise splendid
> Came blushing o'er the sea;
> I thought, as day was breaking,
> My little girls were waking,
> And smiling, and making
> A prayer at home for me.
>
> (*W*, XXXIV, 457)

But Dickens also referred to a number of Thackeray's later and longer works. While engaged in writing *Dombey*, he informed Thackeray that he was "saving up the perusal of Vanity Fair until I shall have done Dombey" (*NL*, II, 70). When that perusal took place is uncertain, but some years later, he told a gathering of the General Theatrical Fund, about "the well-thumbed pages of Mr. Thackeray's books, and . . . how full they are of wit and wisdom, how outspeaking, and how devoid of fear or favour." He then went on to speak of "the deep wants of the human heart" and of the brilliant way in which those wants are studied "in the bright and airy pages of *Vanity Fair*." Dickens concluded his remarks by praising the "potent art" of "this skilful showman, who has so often delighted us."[1]

After Thackeray's sudden death, Dickens was asked to write a piece on Thackeray for the *Cornhill Magazine*—the periodical which Thackeray had been editing. Dickens assented, and in his article, "In Memoriam: W. M. Thackeray," he spoke of the "great English writer" and of his "brilliant qualities": "of his refined knowedge of character, of his subtle acquaintance with the weaknesses of human nature, of his delightful playfulness as an essayist, of his quaint and touching ballads, of his mastery over the English language" (*W*, XXXIV, 453, 455-456). In the same

[1] Speech: "General Theatrical Fund," *Collected Papers*, The Nonesuch Dickens (Bloomsbury, 1937), II, 439.

article, he also commented at length on Thackeray's last and uncompleted novel, *Denis Duval:*

> On the table before me, there lies all that he [Thackeray] had written of his latest and last story . . . The pain, however, that I have felt in perusing it, has not been deeper than the conviction that he was in the healthiest vigour of his powers when he wrought on this last labour. In respect of earnest feeling, far-seeing purpose, character, incident, and a certain loving picturesqueness blending the whole, I believe it to be much the best of all his works. That he fully meant it to be so, that he had become strongly attached to it, and that he bestowed great pains upon it, I trace in almost every page. It contains one picture which must have cost him extreme distress, and which is a masterpiece. There are two children in it, touched with a hand as loving and tender as ever a father caressed his little child with. There is some young love, as pure and innocent and pretty as the truth. And it is very remarkable that, by reason of the singular construction of the story, more than one main incident usually belonging to the end of such a fiction is anticipated in the beginning, and thus there is an approach to completeness in the fragment, as to the satisfaction of the reader's mind concerning the most interesting persons, which could hardly have been better attained if the writer's breaking-off had been foreseen.
>
> The last line he wrote, and the last proof he corrected, are among these papers through which I have so sorrowfully made my way . . . The last words he corrected in print were, "And my heart throbbed with an exquisite bliss." (*W*, XXXIV, 456-457).

It is no doubt true that during their long and intermittent friendship each of these great writers displayed feelings of ambivalence and antipathy toward the other. It may very well be that such feelings caused Dickens to veil his knowledge of Thackeray's writings or reduce his comments on them. Certainly, given the long acquaintance of Dickens and Thackeray and Thackeray's latter fame, one would expect that Dickens would have more to say about the works of his brilliant contemporary. But to acknowledge this is scarcely to say that there is " no evidence that Dickens read any of Thackeray's books at all " or that " Dickens was really rather insensible to Thackeray's genius " —the material presented in this article shows that such statements must be modified. Indeed, Dickens did more than read Thackeray; he publicly proclaimed Thackeray's genius while the latter lived, and defended it after Thackeray had died. A significant incident illustrates Dickens's ultimate attitude toward Thackeray and his works. When someone eulogised Dickens at Thackeray's expense, Dickens's response was immediate and unequivocal. " The author of *Vanity Fair*," he said, " was a very great genius."[1]

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Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.

[1] Gladys Storey, *Dickens and Daughter* (London, 1939), p. 15.

STAGE SOLUTIONS TO THE MYSTERY

By Malcom Morley

Part I

EVER since the death of Dickens conjecture has been rife as to what was in his mind regarding the concluding chapters of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. Columns and columns of print have debated the question, discussions have occupied many a literary circle; likely and unlikely solutions have been offered, but what the contents of those last chapters were to be still remains a mystery. The story began as a monthly serial in April 1870. Twelve numbers were to have been published. Only three were issued before the writer died. Another three remained in manuscript to appear in the following months.

Forster, close friend and first biographer of Dickens, might be credited with knowing something of the author's intentions. According to him the story was to deal with " the murder of a nephew by his uncle, the originality of which was to consist in the review of the murderer's career by himself at the close, when its temptations were to be dwelt upon as if, not the culprit but some other man were the tempted. The last chapters were to be written in the condemned cell, to which his wickedness, all elaborately elicited from him as if told of another, had brought him. Discovery by the murderer of the utter uselessness of the murder for its object, was to follow hard upon the commission of the deed; but all discovery of the murder was to be baffled till towards the close, when, by means of a gold ring which had resisted the corrosive effects of lime into which he had thrown the body, not only the person murdered was to be identified but the locality of the crime and the man who committed it."

Accepting Forster's account as authoritative, it would seem to provide the real clues to the proposed ending of the story. But then Dickens might not have told Forster all he had in mind or he might have changed his mind and not adhered to his plan as at first laid out, a quite likely thing for him to do. In his novel, Dickens had plotted a mystery, as fascinating a mystery as any in the realm of fiction. Through his death the world was robbed of an ending from his pen. It was, perhaps, inevitable that others should enter the lists and attempt solutions to the mystery. Endings to the story and sequels to Drood have been innumerable both in Britain and America.

At one time Dickens, himself, had an idea of making a play from his story, and Dion Boucicault, the most successful dramatist of the day, was to have collaborated with him. Nothing materialised. Boucicault was waiting for the serial to be further advanced whilst, undoubtedly, Dickens wanted it nearer completion before working on the play. The novelist did not tell the waiting dramatist how the plot was to develop nor what he intended the characters to do. After the death of Dickens the subject still remained with Boucicault, and he contemplated preparing a stage version in which, of course, he would have to provide an ending of his own. The proposed drama was discussed with Colonel

Bateman of the Lyceum and cast in advance with Henry Irving as Jasper and Isabel Bateman as Rosa. But the play was never written. It is very probable that Irving, a young actor who was becoming a power, advised against the project. He was wise in the ways of the theatre and, maybe, sensed that the story was not one to be easily transferred from the printed page to the theatre.

A number of playwrights, each concerned with inventing a solution to the mystery, found a strong appeal in making dramatisations supplemented with their own endings. The first Drood drama to be mentioned was one by the American impresario, Augustin Daly. Though written his work was never produced. On September 28th, 1870, the piece was copyrighted in the United States, yet throughout the following twenty and more years when Daly was in management the play did not reach the footlights. But he always had the intention of staging an adaptation. Among the play-scripts left behind at his death was an unproduced " Edwin Drood " with the authorship assigned to James J. Dodd. Possibly Daly refrained in the first instance from giving his dramatisation in New York because of the failure of another version acted before his own play could be brought out.

On October 24th, 1870, at McVicker's Theatre, Chicago, was produced *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* adapted by T. C. De Leon. This was the first showing on any stage of Dickens's story. It was in five acts and the headings ran: 1, The Face at the Window; 2, He is Murderous; 3, The Ghost of a Voice; 4, It is Done; 5, The Mystery.

According to the *Chicago Times*, De Leon was " understood to be a talented writer of Spiritualistic tendencies who is supposed to have received the correct solution of the mystery direct from the shade of the deceased novelist." The solution is given in the closing scene when the single buffer, Dick Datchery, reveals himself as Neville Landless. Then Edwin Drood is produced from Mr. Sapsea's tomb where he had been locked up by Jasper. Another spirit pen solution was published in novel form some years later but it drastically disagreed with that of the first spirit pen. Evidently there was difference of opinion in the afterworld.

As was customary in those days, McVickers Theatre had a stock company. Lawrence Barrett, a young actor who had just reached star status, played Jasper. Later he was to be associated with Edwin Booth in the classic drama. The play, indifferently received in Chicago, was tried again, this time by the company at the Holliday Theatre, Baltimore, on the following December 26th. Joseph E. Whiting was Jasper and Mrs. H. P. Grattan, an actress of fair repute in both England and America, had the comedy rôle of Miss Twinkleton. As in the preliminary bout the piece was found unsatisfactory and De Leon did what playwrights have so often done. He rewrote the script. What was virtually a new play emerged under the title of *Jasper* at the Grand Opera House, New York, on September 4th, 1871. The name part was sustained by Daniel Bandmann, a German actor playing in English. His wife, afterwards known as Mrs. Bandmann Palmer, was seen as Rosa. For many years a wandering star of minor magnitude, Bandmann

modelled himself upon Charles Fechter, but only succeeded in being a very raw edition of that more romantic actor. In the supporting cast at the Grand Opera House were W. H. Pope as Neville, E. F. Thorne as Edwin and Mark Smith as Durdles. *Jasper* was not a success; neither the play nor the leading player. It was given for a week and then was heard no more. Bandmann fell back on a revival of *Narcisse*, his usual standby.

Daniel Bandmann

By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

In addition to De Leon's work a number of dramas emanating from the novel were copyrighted in the United States though not performed, unless in some obscure place of entertainment. The list includes three plays named *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*; one by Fred Stimson (Philadelphia, October 22nd, 1870), another by W. H. Young (New York, June 18th, 1873) and a third by Robert Belmont (Auburn, September 9th, 1873). *Watched by the Dead* by T. Addison and B. L. Griffen, copyrighted on May 11th, 1889, bore the same title as that of a series of articles by the astronomer, R. A. Proctor, which had been published two years earlier propounding a solution to the mystery. Proctor's articles might well have inspired the Addison-Griffen play. From the title it is obvious that Jasper failed in his attempt to do away with Edwin Drood who, supposedly dead, was watching his would-be murderer. Again the name of the novel was used when J. E. Daniels wrote a drama mentioned as coming from St. Petersburg, a small town in Florida. So ends the catalogue of serious adaptations registered in America.

(To be continued).

A NOTE ON DICKENS'S PSYCHIATRIC READING

By Richard A. Hunter and Ida Macalpine

THE student of the varieties, vagaries and behaviour of mankind, whether physician, philosopher or man of letters, is led sooner or later to include the manifestations of mental illness in his field of observation. Therefore it is not surprising that " The medicine of the sick mind, of the disordered intellect, and of unbalanced emotion, permeates Dickens's novels " (S. S. Sprigge, *Physic and Fiction*. London, 1921). Here we identify one of the sources from which Dickens learnt about the treatment of the insane in former times. This was a treatise on insanity from which he quoted without giving its title or author in an article in *Household Words* describing a visit to a lunatic asylum.

On June 27th, 1851, Dickens wrote from the office of *Household Words* to P. W. Bankes, suggesting that as a painter he might like to accompany him to observe the patients in an asylum (*The Nonesuch Dickens*. Letters, Vol. 2, p. 321. London, 1938). Perhaps it was this visit which took place on the " cold, misty, cheerless " night of Boxing Day of the same year, when Dickens found himself " hovering outside Saint Luke's . . . rang the bell, and gained admission." This was St. Luke's Hospital for Lunatics, situated in Old Street Road, London, then in the centenary year of its opening. It was the first institution founded with the avowed object of curing " the insane poor," and during its early years was the only example of active humane feeling for the insane in Europe. Here the celebrated Dr. William Battie, its first physician, had pioneered the clinical study and teaching of insanity in England, if not the whole world.

Dickens described his visit in *Household Words*, January 17th, 1852, under the title "A Curious Dance round a Curious Tree." This article was subsequently reprinted with the author's permission by the Governors of the Charity and distributed in pamphlets appealing for funds. In pointing to the improvements made in the hospital, as well as its remaining defects, Dickens seized the opportunity to plead the cause of humane treatment of the insane. He contrasted present conditions with the glaring cruelties to which the insane had formerly been subjected by the very persons appointed to safeguard them: " nothing was too wildly extravagant, nothing too monstrously cruel to be prescribed by mad-doctors. It was their monomania . . . In other respects these physicians were grave men, of mild dispositions." In illustration Dickens quoted from the work of one such " amiable practitioner ":

> " Imagine one of them turning back his lace and tightening his wig to supply a maniac who *would* keep his mouth shut, with food or physic. He employed a flat oval ring, with a handle to it. ' The head being placed between the knees of the operator, the patient, blinded and properly secured, an opportunity is watched. When he opens his mouth to speak, the instrument is thrust in and allows the food or medicine to be

introduced without difficulty. A sternutatory of any kind ' (say a pepper-castor of cayenne, or half an ounce of rappee) ' always forces the mouth open, in spite of the patient's determination to keep it shut.' ' In cases of great fury and violence,' says the amiable practitioner from whom I quote, ' the patient should be kept in a dark room, confined by one leg, with metallic manacles on the wrist; the skin being less liable to be injured '— here the good Doctor becomes especially considerate and mild— ' the skin being less liable to be injured by the friction of polished metal than by that of linen or cotton '."

Dickens's " good Doctor " and " amiable practitioner " was John Haslam (1764-1844), and the book the second edition of his *Observations on Insanity*, entitled *Observations on Madness and Melancholia: including Practical Remarks on those Diseases* (London, 1809). In it Haslam illustrated " a flat oval ring, with a handle to it " of his own invention, with which patients' mouths could be opened forcibly without the necessity of subjecting them to the operation of " spouting," or knocking out their front teeth. On pp. 319-320 he described " the use of this very simple and efficient instrument, which I constructed about twelve years ago . . . The manner in which this compulsory operation is performed, consists in placing the head of the patient between the knees of the person who is to use the instrument: a second assistant secures the hands (if the straight-waistcoat be not employed), and a third keeps down the legs. As soon as the mouth is opened, the instrument may be introduced; it presses down the tongue, and keeps the jaws sufficiently asunder to admit of the introduction of medicine . . . A little address will obviate the determination of the patient to keep his teeth closed: he may be blindfolded at the commencement . . . causing him to sneeze, by a pinch of snuff, always opens the mouth previously to that convulsion."

The other passage quoted by Dickens was taken from pp. 289-290: " In the most violent state of the disease, the patient should be kept alone in a dark and quiet room . . . The hands should be properly secured, and the patient should also be confined by one leg . . . The more effectual and convenient mode of confining the hands is by metallic manacles; for . . . the friction of the skin against a polished metallic body may be long sustained without injury; whereas excoriation shortly takes place when the surface is rubbed with linen or cotton."

When Haslam wrote this he had been for fourteen years Apothecary of Bethlem Hospital, the oldest foundation for lunatics in England. He was a recognised if not the leading authority on insanity in London, and author of several important books on the subject. In 1815 the affairs of Bethlem Hospital were investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, and as a result of the abuses and cruelties uncovered, Haslam was dismissed.

Dickens's attention had probably been drawn to Haslam's writings by one of two contemporary specialists in this branch of medicine. One was Dr. Alexander John Sutherland (1810-1867), Physician to St. Luke's Hospital; the other and more illustrious was Dr. John Conolly (1794-1866), pioneer of the non-restraint

system, acknowledged the world over as the greatest advance in the guardianship of the insane. By 1851 he was Visiting Physician to Hanwell Asylum, the scene of his great reform in the previous decade. Both Conolly and Sutherland are mentioned in Dickens's correspondence, but have been ignored by his biographers.

Dickens wrote in "A Curious Dance round a Curious Tree" that one of the reasons for his visit to St. Luke's had been to see a "poor creature" who had aroused public interest because of the unusual circumstances leading to her admission: "I had been told of a patient in St. Luke's, a woman of great strength and energy, who had been driven mad by an infuriated ox in the streets . . . She seized the creature literally by the horns, and so, as long as limb and life were in peril, vigorously held him; but the danger over, she lost her senses, and became one of the most ungovernable of the inmates of the asylum." In the annual report of the physicians of St. Luke's for 1851 we found her subsequent history noted: "The poor woman who before her admission into St. Luke's was attacked by an ox and who prevented its goring her by holding it by the horns, has unfortunately been discharged uncured. This case has been alluded to by the eloquent author of the paper upon St. Luke's Hospital recently published in *Household Words* whose observations are well deserving of careful notice."

Dickens remained "keenly interested in the Hospital" (C. N. French, *The Story of St. Luke's Hospital.* London, 1951), and indeed repeated his visit some years later for the purpose of studying "some distinctly and remarkably-developed types of insanity" (*The Nonesuch Dickens.* Letters, Vol. 3, p. 3. London, 1938). His comments on this visit may still be read in his own handwriting in the Visitors' Book:

> "Much delighted with the great improvement in the Hospital, under many difficulties—with the excellent demeanour of the attendants—and with the benignant and wise spirit of the whole administration.
>
> Charles Dickens
>
> January Fifteenth 1858."

We thank Professor John Butt of Durham University for his interest and encouragement; and the Governors of St. Luke's Hospital for permission to consult and quote from their records. This paper was written while one of us was in receipt of a grant from the Wellcome Trustees.

THE *CAROL* AS A "MUSICAL"

It was reported that American television viewers were to be regaled at Christmas with a musical version of *A Christmas Carol*, entitled *The Stingiest Man in Town*, with Basil Rathbone as Scrooge.

As we go to press, there arrives news of another American production of the book on the television screen, this time presumably without music. Basil Rathbone was to play Marley's ghost in this version, and Frederick March, Scrooge.

By T. W. Hill

(*Continued from* Vol. LII, p. 188).

Chapter LIV

1. GRASSHOPPER'S MERRY CHIRP. This is a bit of false natural history; the grasshopper chirps in light or preferably in sunny weather, and ceases after the "light has failed . . . a few bright stars."

Chapter LV

1. WINDING SHEETS. The cerements of a dead body, and used also for the piece of wax hanging from a guttering candle and regarded as an omen of death.

Chapter LVI

1. CLARE MARKET. Close to Lincoln's Inn Fields. The market was established in 1687 on the Duke of Newcastle's property and took his family name of Clare. It declined as a market about 1860 and disappeared in 1900 when Kingsway and Aldwych were constructed.

2. SAVILLE'S HOUSE. This stood on the north side of Leicester Fields now known as Leicester Square. It was rebuilt after its destruction by the Gordon Rioters but was burnt down in 1865. A cinema now occupies the site.

3. WORTH AN HOUR'S PURCHASE. A figurative expression taken from conveyancing. Property changes hands as being worth so many years' purchase, that is at a price that will return to the purchaser the whole of his outlay, from the income of so many years. If a man's life is not worth an hour's purchase it is in extreme peril or is not likely to last an hour.

Chapter LVII

1. FOOT GUARDS. There were at that period three regiments: Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots. In the nineteenth and present centuries the Irish and the Welsh regiments were added.

Chapter LVIII

1. SIR JOHN FIELDING. The younger half-brother of Henry Fielding the magistrate and novelist. Sir John was blind from birth, but became assistant magistrate to Henry about 1750, and on the latter's death was appointed to his office. He was said to know three thousand thieves by their voices alone. After his residence, No. 4 Bow Street, was destroyed by the rioters (see chapter lxi, note 3) he lived at Brompton Place where he died on September 4th, 1780, three months after the riots.

Chapter LIX

1. BLINDS DRAWN UP. In a carriage or coach the blinds or shutters to the windows drop into the body of the door when not in use; they must therefore be drawn *up* for use, and not down as is the case with the same fittings in a house.

Chapter LX

1. PUBLIC CONVENIENCES . . . PUBLIC NUISANCES. One of Dickens's characteristic outbursts against bad administration.

Chapter LXI

1. MANSION HOUSE. During his year of office the Lord Mayor resides in the Mansion House.

2. LORD MAYOR. Alderman Brackley Kennett, the Lord Mayor was a pusillanimous creature without mind or energy and he took no active means to quell the disturbances. (Cassell).

3. MAGISTRATE'S DWELLING. This was No. 4 Bow Street, the Police office at which the Artful Dodger appeared (*Oliver Twist*). It was burnt down by the Rioters (chapter lxvi); the site is now covered by part of Covent Garden Market. Since 1881 the Police court has occupied premises nearly opposite.

4. LANGDALE—THAT'S MY NAME. Originally the Black Swan, Holborn was an important coaching-inn and dated from about the time of the Norman Conquest. In the eighteenth century it became Langdale's Distillery, was destroyed by the Gordon Rioters in 1780 as related in *Barnaby Rudge*, and on the dissolution of the firm in 1827 was acquired by Nicholsons. The premises were sold to Buchanans about 1926 and rebuilt. Parts of the old building still exist. By the side of the premises an opening gives access to Barnard's Inn.

5. NEWGATE: THEN A NEW BUILDING. Only dating from 1770 when it had been rebuilt, and not entirely completed when the mob attacked it. The prison was restored by 1783 and there Lord George Gordon was confined from 1789 till his death in 1793. In 1902 the prison was pulled down and on its site is the present Central Criminal Court, commonly known by the ancient name The Old Bailey.

Chapter LXIII

1. TO CLERKENWELL. From Lincoln's Inn Fields, the place of assembly, the mob crossed Holborn. After capturing Gabriel Varden it must have approached Newgate by way of Farringdon Road and Snow Hill.

Chapter LXIV

1. MR. AKERMAN. Chief gaoler at Newgate: an historical personage.

2. POINTING TO THE HOUR OF DEATH. Eight o'clock in the morning was the appointed time for public executions: the bell of St. Sepulchre's also tolled the "passing bell" throughout the ceremony and also while prisoners destined for Tyburn were on their way. In *Oliver Twist* chapter xvi, Nancy reminded Bill Sikes of this when passing St. Bartholomew's Smithfield as the church clock struck eight in the evening. In chapter lxxvii, however, the hour of execution was twelve o'clock, noon.

Chapter LXVI

1. CHARING CROSS. In 1780 Charing Cross was little more than the cross-roads; there was no Trafalgar Square, and the Strand, Whitehall, St. Martin's Lane and Cockspur Street were all rather narrow and backed by courts and alleys. The present spacious lay-out has been a gradual process since 1829 when the square was begun on the site of the courtyard of the Royal Mews, now replaced by the National Gallery.

2. COUNTRY SEAT AT CAEN WOOD. Where Lord Mansfield died

in 1793. The house, designed by Robert Adam is now known as Ken Wood House, a London County Council Art Gallery since 1924.

3. NEW GAOL AT CLERKENWELL. See chapter xviii, note 3.

Chapter LXVII

1. ROYAL EXCHANGE. The second, built after the Great Fire of London which destroyed Gresham's original building. This second Royal Exchange was burnt down in 1838 and the present Exchange opened in 1844.

2. NEW RIVER HEAD. See chapter iv, note 4.

3. BOROUGH CLINK. In Tooley Street, was never rebuilt after its destruction by the rioters; King's Bench prison was at the corner of Blackman Street, now incorporated in Borough High Street, and rebuilt after the riots, and finally demolished in 1880; the Fleet prison was rebuilt after the riots, ceased to be used as a prison in 1844, and was pulled down in 1864; New Bridewell, near Clerkenwell Close was entirely demolished in 1804.

4. ST. MILDRED'S. In Poultry; not to be confused with St. Mildred, Bread Street, this St. Mildred was built by Wren in 1676 to replace the edifice destroyed in the Great Fire of London, 1666. It was pulled down in 1872, the parish being united with St. Olave, Jewry.

5. HOLBORN BRIDGE. This spanned the Fleet (Holborn) river at the foot of Holborn Hill; now superseded by Farringdon Road as the Fleet has become a culvert.

6. TOLL-HOUSE ON BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE. After its destruction by the rioters the Governors purchased the bridge and freed it of toll (1785).

7. VINTNER'S ON HOLBORN HILL. As Joe recognised him as the same man to whom he had paid the quarterly bill (chapter xiii) in Thames Street, Mr. Langdale must have removed his business or else he kept both premises using the Thames Street cellars for reserve stock.

Chapter LXX

1. ST. JAMES'S SQUARE . . . PIECE OF WATER. When the square was laid out and paved in 1727 it had a central " basin " of water; for a short time there was a fountain and then a pedestal for a statue of William III which was not erected till 1808. The pond gradually deteriorated, became stagnant and noisomely slimy and was drained and the hole filled in about 1850.

Chapter LXXI

1. POTTER'S WESSEL. A good example of Dickens's skill in presenting the muddled thought of an uneducated enthusiast. In Acts ix, 15, after Saul had been stricken on the way to Damascus the Lord said: " he is a chosen vessel unto Me," and in Psalm ii, 9 we read: " Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

2. TITIWATE THEMSELVES INTO WHITENING SUPPULCHRES. Another truly Miggsian mixture in Dickens's best manner: " Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." Matt. xxiii, 27.

Chapter LXXII

1. THE SALWANNERS. Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A., founded by General Oglethorpe in 1773, this state joined the American Rebellion in 1776, was occupied by the British in 1778, giving Joe Willett the opportunity of losing his arm in its defence, which was successful, against the rebels.

Chapter LXXIII

1. TWO HUNDRED . . . SHOT DEAD. The statistics given in this and the following paragraphs are historical and are taken from the records. In Dickens's library at Gad's Hill there was a pamphlet "Vincent's Narrative of the Riots in London with the commitment of Lord George Gordon, 1780."

2. ONE GOOD DEED IN A MURKY LIFE. A paraphrase of a line in Shakespeare:

> "How far that little candle throws his beams!
> So shines a good deal in a naughty world."
> *Merchant of Venice*, act v, sc. 1.

Chapter LXXIV

1. ROUND-HOUSE. The name by which lock-ups were usually known as most of them were circular or octagonal in shape. A number survive in various parts of the country.

Chapter LXXV

1. A VERY HANDSOME PREPARATION. It was not uncommon for felons' bodies after execution to be sent for dissection to Surgeons' Hall, close to Newgate Prison. The College of Surgeons, Royal after 1800, was removed in that year to Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Chapter LXXVII

1. THE SCAFFOLD. There were many places of execution (when such occasions were public) beside Newgate and Tyburn, although the majority took place on those spots. Barnaby was to have suffered in Bloomsbury Square. Tyburn was used for the last time in 1783, and the last public execution outside Newgate occurred in 1868. Tower Hill was also used.

2. STOP MY EXECUTION. Dennis the hangman was an historical personage, but Dickens changed the Christian name. The real Dennis was actually reprieved, but Dickens could not forgo his usual practice of punishing the villain, so the Dennis of fiction was executed in spite of his frantic appeal.

3. CALL DOWN THE WRATH OF GOD. This outburst on Hugh's part is in the best tradition of melodramatic declamation, but one cannot imagine a rough uncultivated boor such as Hugh breaking out with such eloquence. The sentiments are of course unexceptionable, but they are Dickens's own, put into Hugh's mouth, and are largely addressed to the reader.

Chapter LXXVIII

1. DUTCH PIN OR SKITTLE. The game of Dutch skittles is slightly different from the ordinary game as a round ball is used

instead of a skittle-ball or " cheese "; the pin is the same shape in both. Nine-pins is a miniature set for the nursery.

Chapter LXXIX

1. GALL AND WORMWOOD. Symbols of bitterness from very early times.

> " But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall
> To make oppression bitter."
>
> *Hamlet*, II, ii, 605.
>
> " None wed the second but who kill'd the first."
> *Hamlet* (aside) " Wormwood, wormwood."
>
> *Hamlet*, III, ii. 190.

2. YOUNG PRINCE OF WALES. This was Prince George, afterwards Prince Regent and then King George the Fourth: he was born in 1762 and was therefore only eighteen years of age.

Chapter LXXX

1. CHIRPING AS NEVER KETTLE CHIRPED BEFORE. Dickens had a sentimental liking for comparing the cricket's song with that of the kettle. In 1845 when he was meditating the establishment of a periodical, his first idea of a name for it was " The Cricket, a cheerful creature that chirrups on the Hearth." He chose " Household Words " and transferred his idea to the Christmas Book of the same year, in which Chirp (i.e. chapter) One opens: " The kettle began it . . . there was a sort of match or trial of skill . . . between the kettle and the cricket."

Chapter LXXXI

1. PART AND PARCEL. The repetition of two words each having the same meaning is quite common in legal documents, and it is not surprising that such phrases become part of ordinary speech when emphasis is desired. " Part and parcel " is to be found in an Act of Parliament of Henry VIII.

2. LAY AT THE INN. The use of lay for sleep or reside is quite old and is so used in the Bible and in Shakespeare. The inn in question was probably the White Horse Cellars, Piccadilly, the terminus of the coach from Bath and Bristol. From here Mr. Pickwick started when he went to Bath; to Mr. Guppy in *Bleak House* it was known as Whytorseller.

Chapter LXXXII

1. JAIL FEVER. Now known as typhus fever, it has long been recognised as caused by dirt and insanitary conditions, and recent research has shewn that the infection is transmitted by lice, the destruction of which has caused it to be practically stamped out in Great Britain.

2. OBSCURE INN. G. F. Young thinks this was the Black Bull in the Borough. It is also mentioned as a " sequestered tavern " (note the adjective) in " Reprinted Pieces," *On Duty with Inspector Field*, and may be the " sequestered pot-shop " in *Pickwick Papers* to which Bob Sawyer and Ben Allen went for shelter.

3. BLOODED BY A SKILFUL SURGEON. " Blooded " here means blood-letting, either by leeches or by cupping. Here it was done by a skilful surgeon, but the usual practitioners were barbers, who

made their proficiency known by the red and white striped pole suspended over their doors, the white representing the bandage and the red the blood.

4. TRIED AT WESTMINSTER. See *The Dickensian*, 1946, p. 12.

(*concluded*)

FRIENDS OF *THE DICKENSIAN*

SECOND LIST

Mr. T. E. Acum
Mrs. W. E. Akhurst
Mr. F. Arnold
Miss S. Atkinson
Miss F. Bacon
Mrs. A. Baker
Mr. J. G. W. Baker
Mr. A. W. Ballard
Misses Beatley
Miss N. Bennett
Miss D. Bexon
Mr. F. L. Biddle
Mr. W. H. Bingham
Mrs. Birks
Mr. T. S. Blakeney
Mrs. Blakeston
Mr. M. Bluck
Mr. J. P. Bramer
Mr. G. Brend
Mr. T. V. Brewer
Dr. and Mrs. Broadhurst
Mr. C. E. Brown
Mr. E. F. Burden
Miss D. K. Bush
Mr. O. H. Butterfield
Mr. and Mrs. Caddick
Miss M. Campion
Mrs. Carden
Miss I. K. Carter
Mr. G. Cathcart
Mr. W. H. Charles
Mrs. M. E. Chappell
Mr. F. W. Crews
Miss D. A. Davies
Mr. W. A. Davies
Mrs. Walter Dexter
Mr. F. A. Dowling
Miss D. L. Drake
Mr. A. W. Edwards
Mr. R. F. Fairbrother
Mr. W. Firth
Miss D. Fowle
Miss M. Fulford
Mr. Gambrill
Miss George
Mrs. Mary Giles
Mr. E. Gilmour
Mr. W. J. Goddard
Mr. John Greaves
Mr. Mostyn Harper
Miss V. G. A. Hobson
Mr. H. Howitt
Mr. E. F. E. Jefferson
Miss M. S. Jeffery
Miss E. K. Jones
Mrs. Markham Jones
Dr. H. S. Keer
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BRANCH CONTRIBUTIONS

Blackburn	£3	3	0	Madison	£2	2	0	Southend	£4	4	0
Broadstairs	2	15	6	Palos Verdes	2	0	0	St. Pancras	15	0	0
Los Angeles	1	15	0	Redditch	1	1	0	Victoria	1	0	0

California Pickwick Club £3 10 0

Our congratulations are offered to the following newly-elected Branch Secretaries, and our thanks to those retiring.

Miss K. Watson who succeeds Mrs. Treadgold at Redditch; Mrs. McLean who succeeds Mr. C. Piper at Dunedin; Miss L. Robertson who succeeds Miss E. Smith at Wellington; Mr. Wm. Reed who succeeds Mr. H. Knipe at Vancouver.

A hearty welcome to England to the following overseas visitors:

Mr. J. D. Anderson (Melbourne), Miss I. Urquhart and Miss Helen Foss (Calif. Pickwick Club), Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Andrews (Edmonton), Miss E. Dimick (Boston), Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Caddick (Christchurch), Miss Mabel Zahn (Philadelphia), Miss J. Cook (Dunedin), Miss A. J. Lemartre (Boston), Mrs. MacB. Clapper (Pittsburgh), Mrs. Edwin W. Smythe and Mrs. Michel of Madison.

"BANNOW"

AN AIM AND OBJECT OF THE FELLOWSHIP

IN 1918, as a result of a nation-wide appeal by the Dickens Fellowship and the St. Dunstan's Hostels for Blinded Soldiers, a property in Quarry Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, was purchased and further sums collected for its equipment and endowment.

This property, known as "Bannow" was opened as The Charles Dickens Home for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors, the Trustees being Sir Arthur Pearson, Bart., G.C.B.E., and Mr. W. Walter Crotch, at that time President of the Dickens Fellowship.

Later, when there were no longer blind servicemen to be accommodated, "Bannow" was thrown open to all blinded people, and it continued doing most useful work, in this respect, until 1942, when an enemy bomb partially destroyed the building, injuring the matron and killing several of the blind occupants.

By 1946, it had been rebuilt, and since then has continued as a holiday and convalescent home for blind people from all parts of the country.

Being in St. Leonards, I paid a chance call at the house and was warmly welcomed by the Warden, Miss E. Warner. It was with a thrill of pride I read the Fellowship's name on the gateway. I was shown over the house and learned with great pleasure that up to that time, over 500 blind people had enjoyed their holidays there last year alone, in addition to the dozen or so regular residents.

If any members of the Fellowship are in St. Leonards, the Warden would be only too pleased to allow them to look over the Home, and no one can come away without feeling a sense of admiration for the wonderful work which has been and is being done there to lighten the burden of those suffering under this great affliction of blindness.

Here is a concrete example of the achievement of one of the Fellowship's most important aims—an aim in which Dickens himself would have been keenly interested, and a worthy monument to his memory.

J. G.

A NEW CHRISTMAS ANTHOLOGY

It is a pity that it is now too late to recommend Philip Collins's *Christmas Anthology*[1] as a most admirable yuletide gift, for this year at any rate, but its interest is by no means confined to the festive season. Mr. Collins (P. A. W. Collins of these pages) has made a most catholic selection, as some of the headings will demonstrate: Objections and Reservations, Less Happy Christmases, and The Aftermath. The list of some of the unlikely authors includes, Carlyle, Gissing and Shaw. The extracts from Dickens are themselves unusual. A most interesting book.

L.C.S.

[1] Gordon Fraser, 8s. 6d.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

I should like to protest strongly against the publication of the article on pp. 157 *et seq.* of the Autumn Number of *The Dickensian*. It is both offensive and absurd.

The author, Mr. Thos. D. Murphy, presumes to ascribe his own political views to the great novelist. In the concluding paragraph he says:

> " I now feel sure that if Charles Dickens had grown up in my father's village, he would have been out there in the pasture of a night with the rest of the boys drilling for the day when the virtuous Saxons were to be tossed out of Erin."

The implication is that the rescission of the twenty-six counties from the United Kingdom was gained by the military prowess of the " boys drilling in the fields ". The fact is that the issue was determined by votes cast at a General Election. The " virtuous Saxons " were not " tossed out of Erin ".

Dickens was far too shrewd an observer not to perceive that Ireland lost more than she gained by the change. Since the Act of Union, she was an integral and governing part of the world's greatest Empire—an Empire always foremost as the standard bearer of liberty. Now the Republic of Eire is a small and insignificant country—a good place to live out of as the population, ever dwindling by emigration, shows. Had her geographical position been on the east instead of on the west of the sister country, it is far from likely that even the most anti-British section would have advocated a break-away, exposing them to attack from bellicose Germans or Russians.

In conclusion, let me confess that I, your correspondent, am of pure Celtic stock and was proud of it although regarding British citizenship as my most blessed heritage.

Faithfully yours,

S. Kensington. Edythe M. Glanville

OBITUARY

Every member of the Fellowship who has heard the Rev. George A. Parkinson will mourn his loss as that of a personal friend. A brilliant exponent of Dickens's works, he carried the spirit of them far beyond the platform. It shone always so clearly in him that he was held in the very warmest regard among us all. His long life of service to the church, to the work of the National Children's Homes, ended on August 29th in Guernsey, where latterly he had made his home. He was 76. L.C.S.

We also regret to record the death of Mrs. A. Whymark of Liverpool, Mr. J. H. Roe of Blackpool, Mr. T. Bailey, Past-President, Preston, Mrs. Holmes, Headquarters, Mrs. Dutton and Miss Alice Gem of Manchester, and Miss Alice Whitehead, Mr. C. Becka Daly, Miss Jessie Shields and Miss Marion Malcolm of Melbourne, Miss Joan Kennedy of Victoria, Miss Jessie I. Rutter of Philadelphia, and Miss Mary McKenzie, of Vancouver.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

A Diary of Dickens Fellowship meetings commences below, and will replace the Reports which have hitherto appeared on this page. Branch Secretaries are invited to send copies of their season's programme to the Editor.

Readers desiring further information about the events announced are referred to the Branch Secretaries whose addresses are to be found on the back cover.

HEADQUARTERS. (See p. iii of cover)

BATH

Jan.	2.	New Year Social.
	7, 21.	Reading Circle.
Feb.	4, 18.	Reading Circle.
	7.	The Mayor places a chaplet on the bust of Dickens in the Pump Room. Dickens Birthday Dinner.
Mar.	6, 19.	Reading Circle.
	11.	Whist Drive.
April	1.	Members' Night.
	8.	Whist Drive.
	15.	Paper by Miss E. D. Abbott.
	29.	Annual General Meeting.

BIRMINGHAM

Jan.	9.	"Dickens Abroad". Mr. D. Birch.
Feb.	7.	Informal Birthday Dinner.
Mar.	13.	"Problems of a Theatre Manager." Mr. D. Salberg.
	29, 30.	Dramatic Presentation of *Dombey and Son*.
April	10.	Annual General Meeting.

HULL

Jan.	4.	New Year Revels and Fair.
Feb.	1.	Recital. Mr. John Greaves.
	7.	Dickens Birthday Dinner.
Mar.	1.	President's Evening.
	22.	Whist Drive.
April	5.	Entertainment by the Drama Section.

LIVERPOOL

Jan.	15.	Readings from Dickens. Arranged by Miss Dougherty.
	29.	Sketches from Dickens. Arranged by Theatre Guild.
Feb.	9.	Dickens Birthday Dinner.
	26.	"Dickensiana." Mr. J. Rogerson.
Mar.	12.	Literary Gleanings. Mrs. Irene Coleman.
	26.	"Guess Who." A Dickens panel game.
April	9.	Annual General Meeting and "Bring and Buy" Sale.

MANCHESTER

Jan.	4.	Play Reading from *Barnaby Rudge*.
	18.	Joint Meeting with Manchester Poetical Society.
Feb.	9.	Dickens Birthday Dinner.
	22.	"Newspapers." Mr. J. F. Goulden.
Mar.	8.	"History of Manchester." Miss M. L. Kingsmill Jones.
	22.	Miscellaneous Short Papers.
April	12.	Annual General Meeting.

Nottingham

Jan. 5, 19. Reading of *A Tale of Two Cities.*
Feb. 2, 16. Reading of *A Tale of Two Cities.*
Feb. 6. Dickens Birthday Dinner.
Mar. 2, 16, 30. Reading of *A Tale of Two Cities.*
April 13. Ten Minute Papers on the book.
27. Annual General Meeting.

Plymouth

Jan. 19. Old Tims' Tea and Entertainment.
28. Whist Drive.
Feb. 9. Dickens Birthday Dinner.
25. Dramatic and Musical Evening.
Mar. 25. Dramatic and Musical Evening.
April 15. Golden Jubilee. Recital: Mr. John Greaves.

Portsmouth

Jan. 8. Dingley Dell Party.
22. Address by Mr. J. B. Simons.
Feb. 9. Dickens Birthday Dinner.
12. "Local Colour." Mr. W. W. Hide. "What's My Mime?"
26. "Nursing in Literature." Miss C. Stuart Bunning.
Mar. 12. Medallists' Night.
27. Recital. Mr. John Greaves.
April 9. "Wit and Humour." Dr. H. Marie Grigsby.
22. "Surprise Packet."

Preston

Jan. 8. "We Beg to Differ."
22. "Mrs. Gaskell." Mrs. J. Sleddon.
Feb. 5. Dickens Birthday Dinner.
19. "The Protection of Rural England." Mr. Barnes.
Mar. 5. "Children of Dickens's Day and Now." Mrs. Welch.
19. Mrs. A. Astley Walsh. Blackburn Branch.
April 9. Social Evening. "Bring and Buy" Sale.
30. Annual General Meeting.

Rochester

Jan. 17. "Garrulous Ladies of Dickens." Miss A. Kenny.
Feb. 7. Dickens Birthday Party.
22. Annual General Meeting and Members' Evening.
Mar. 21. Readings from Dickens: Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh.
April 11. "The Dickensian Courts of Law." Mr. P. H. Bartlett.

Tewkesbury

Jan. 1. New Year Party.
Feb. 5. Dickens Birthday Dinner.
Mar. 5. Annual Business Meeting.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1955.

1954.	LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£			
142	The Dickens Fellowship—Current Account		165 8 6
84	Sundry Creditors and Accrued Charges		64 9 10
103	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift		102 19 9
10257	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund		10257 10 3
	Library Reserve—		
	As at December, 1954	8 8 9	
8	*Add* Proceeds of duplicate books sold during year to date	18 0 4	
			26 9 1
	Balance—		
	As at 31st December, 1954	6338 14 6	
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year to date	51 3 9	
6339			6389 18 3
£16933			£17006 15 8

1954.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£			
5108	Freehold Property—		
	Nos. 48 and 49 Doughty Street, at cost		5108 5 2
	Furniture and Fittings, at cost, less depreciation at 31st December, 1954	179 12 0	
	Additions during year at cost	56 15 0	
		236 7 0	
180	*Less* Depreciation for Year	11 17 0	
			224 10 0
	Library and Museum, at cost—		
	As at 31st December, 1954	257 13 11	
258	Additions during year	50 0 5	
			308 0 4
	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment—		
103	£188 5*s.* 9*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock, at cost (Market Value 31st December, 1955, £106 7*s.* 3*d.*)		102 19 9
	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments, at cost—		
	£696 2*s.* 4*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock	500 0 0	
	£1792 14*s.* 3½% Commonwealth of Australia Stock 1965/69	2000 0 0	
	£530 8*s.* 3½% Conversion Stock	500 0 0	
	£1000 2½% Defence Bonds	1000 0 0	
	£488 18*s.* 4% Consolidated Stock	500 0 0	
	£486 16*s* 4*d.* British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73	500 0 0	
	£527 13*s.* 4*d.* 3½% War Stock	500 0 0	
	£600 9*s.* 8*d.* British Gas 3% Guaranteed Stock 1990/95	500 0 0	
	£2363 11*s.* 4*d.* 3% Savings Bonds 1965/75	2000 0 0	
	£820 7*s.* 7*d.* 3½% Treasury Stock 1977/80	757 10 3	
	£1215 11*s.* 9*d.* British Transport 3% Gtd. Stock 1978/88	1000 0 0	
	(Market Value 31st December, 1955, £8373 12*s.* 11*d.*)	9757 10 3	
10257	Post Office Savings Bank Deposit Account	500 0 0	
			10257 10 3
21	Payments in Advance		21 5 3
	Stock of Pictures, Post Cards, etc—		
199	Certified by Hon. Secretary		218 14 3
44	*The Dickensian*—Current Account		44 2 5
703	Cash at Bank and in hand		721 8 3
£16933			£17006 15 8

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens House and certify it to be in accordance therewith. We have also verified the Investments.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1955.

1954.	EXPENDITURE	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
£	To General Expenses—						
22	Stationery and Postages	27	10	4			
47	Petty Cash Sundry Expenses and Cleaning ...	69	7	8			
9	Telephone	9	2	6			
84	Caretaking Expenses	78	0	0			
343	Salaries	370	17	6			
505		554	18	0			
10	,, Water Rates	10	11	7			
37	,, Insurances	37	4	11			
128	,, Lighting and Heating	136	6	1			
680		739	0	7			
15	*Less* Contribution from Dickens Fellowship	15	0	0			
665					724	0	7
282	,, Repairs to Building				388	8	11
9	,, Maintenance of Furniture and Fittings				4	19	9
10	,, Depreciation of Furniture and Fittings				11	17	0
–	,, Contribution to Miss D. L. Minard's Deferred Annuity ...				51	6	0
304	,, Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to Balance Sheet...				51	3	9
£1270					£1231	16	0

1954.	INCOME	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
£	By Annual Subscriptions received during the year—						
54	Friends of Dickens House				50	17	3
236	,, Admission Fees				252	9	0
1	,, Reproduction Fees...				–	–	–
38	,, Donations				3	2	7
	,, Rents—						
300	No. 49 Doughty Street	300	0	0			
35	*The Dickensian*	35	0	0			
50	The Dickens Fellowship	50	0	0			
					385	0	0
	,, Interest (Gross)—						
5	Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment	4	14	0			
339	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investment	338	10	6			
					343	4	6
25	,, Grant from London County Council				25	0	0
187	,, Profit on Sales				172	2	8
£1270					£1231	16	0

BROADSTAIRS ANNUAL DICKENS FESTIVAL

1957

JUNE, 11th to 15th inclusive

Organised by the Broadstairs Branch of the Dickens Fellowship.

DICKENS PLAY

"DAVID COPPERFIELD"

Adapted by GLADYS WATERER

From the novel by Charles Dickens.

Walking Tour of Old Broadstairs.

Dickensian Tea Party in the Garden of Bleak House.

Conducted Coach Tour.

Other Attractions.

Further particulars of the Festival may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Broadstairs Branch, Dickens Fellowship, Dickens House, Broadstairs.

Please send a stamped addressed envelope.

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The Dickens Fellowship

LONDON MEETINGS

Jan. Mon. 7th. Lecture: "Revisions by Boz." Mrs. Kathleen Tillotson.

Feb. Thurs. 7th. DICKENS BIRTHDAY DINNER. Café Royal, 7 p.m. Prof. Edgar Johnson and Sir Ernest Gowers. Tickets from Dickens House, 30*s*.

Mon. 18th. "Dickens—Critic of his Age." Mr. D. L. Murray.

Sat. 23rd. Visit to the Record Office and Dr. Johnson's House. All tickets sold.

Mar. Fri. 15th. Lantern Lecture: "In Search of Tittlebats." Mr. John Greaves.

April Sat. 6th. Ramble: "Westward with the Gordon Rioters." Conducted by Mr. T. V. Brewer. Meet: Aldersgate Underground Station, 2-30 p.m.

Wed. 17th. Annual General Meeting, followed by a debate, "Widows *v.* Spinsters."

All meetings, unless otherwise stated, at the Swedenborg Hall, Bloomsbury Way, at 7 p.m. Doors open at 6-30 p.m.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

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Full particulars of the Fellowship and Forms of Membership can be obtained from any of the Secretaries.